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1. That they are all doing most valuable work in their own fields, and
2. That they are all urgently in need of funds.

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April, 1908.

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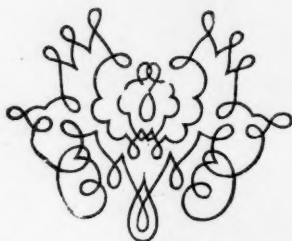
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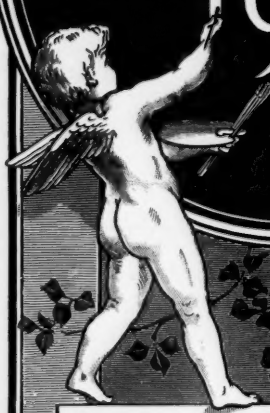
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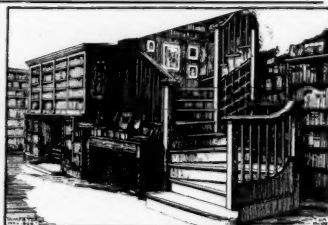
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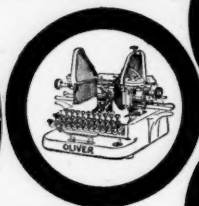
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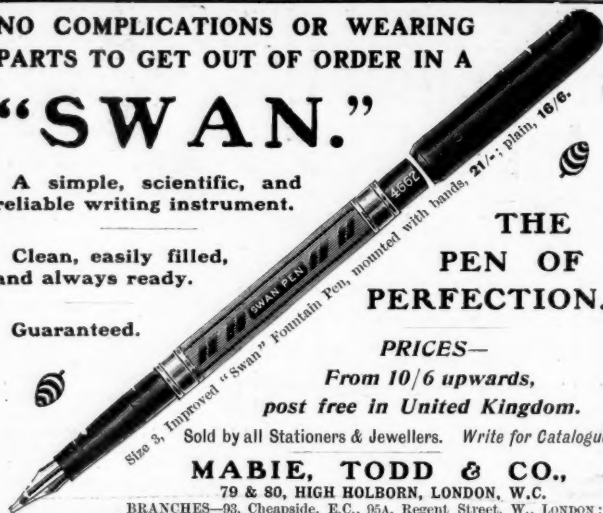
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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Art. I.—GIOSUE CARDUCCI.

Juvenilia (1850-1860) e *Levia Gravia* (1861-1871), second edition, 1903; *Giambi ed Epodi* (1867-1879) e *Rime Nuove* (1861-1887), second edition, 1903; *Odi Barbare, Rime e Ritmi*, second edition, 1907; *Discorsi Letterari e Storici*, third edition, 1905; *Primi Saggi*, second edition, 1903; *Studi Letterari*, 1893; *Studi, Saggi e Discorsi*, 1898. By Giosue Carducci. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli.

THERE are certain writers whose privilege it seems to give to the contemporary genius of their country an adequate expression in literature. They neither follow public opinion nor lead it, for their minds are so constituted that they are almost certain to find themselves in accord with their countrymen. Tennyson is an instance in England, and in France Victor Hugo. Tennyson united the gifts of an incomparable literary artist with the convictions of an average Englishman under Queen Victoria. In boyhood he rang the church bells to celebrate the first Reform Act, and he lived long enough to become an ardent Imperialist. Victor Hugo, even while he denounced the *bourgeois*, was never really out of touch with the French middle class. Brought up as a Catholic and Legitimist, he lived to be a zealous champion of republicanism and free thought. In less tangible matters also than religious and political opinion, in that general outlook on life in which differences and likenesses elude classification, these men were inwardly at one with their fellow-citizens. The very moderation of Tennyson is national; so is the vehemence of Victor

Hugo. Such authors may be regarded from two main standpoints—firstly, as literary artists, a quality that can be properly estimated only by men whose language is theirs; secondly, as interpreters of their age, an aspect which tends to become the most prominent to historians and foreigners. Italy has recently lost a man of this representative type in Giosue Carducci, who was born in 1836, and died in 1907.

Yet, while fully representing the Italian genius in many ways, Carducci was almost free from that quality in it which tends more than any other to repel the taste of northerners, the quality which the Italians themselves praise under the name of *morbidezza*. From the time of the Catholic revival, and even earlier, this melting mood seems to cling about the atmosphere of Italy. Already traceable in the later artists of the Renaissance, in Correggio, in Luini, in Andrea del Sarto, it becomes unbearably cloying in the devotional paintings of the Bolognese school, and in the insipid pastorals of Marini. When the Romantic movement revitalised the literature of Europe an unwholesome tinge of self-pity tainted its Italian exponents. Absent from the fiery Alfieri, it appears strongly both in Manzoni and in Leopardi. The great Italian novelist of reaction lacked the manliness of Walter Scott; and the virtue of 'I Promessi Sposi' is pathetic resignation, not the strong self-reliance of Henry Morton or Jeanie Deans. Great poet as he was, Leopardi was not untouched by the national malady. Scepticism in the Italian Shelley took a shape quite as unhealthy as piety in Manzoni. The title of one of his poems, 'Amore e Morte,' might well describe the whole work of his later years, when ill-health and political embitterment had deepened his inborn pessimism. Indeed Goethe's well-known saying, that classic art is healthy art, romantic art is sickly art, is perhaps truer of Italian literature than of any other. For in Italy the Romantic movement failed to permeate, as in Germany and France, the inmost being of the nation. It found neither, as in Germany, a fallow soil unencumbered by classical tradition, nor, as in France, a national consciousness palpitating with mighty cataclysms and achievements, with the upheaval of the Revolution and the epic campaigns of the First Empire.

Being the outcome of foreign influences, it only affected isolated men of letters, as Carducci himself contended in an interesting essay on the 'Renewal of the National Literature.'

Like Matthew Arnold, Carducci was a historian and teacher of literature as well as a poet; and this didactic side of his career has an important bearing on his poetry. His appreciations and studies have the twofold interest that always belongs to those of a creative artist; we read them as much for the light they reflect on the critic as for that which they throw on the subject of his criticism. As is natural in an Italian, the touchstone of his literary sympathies and insight is best found in his apprehension of Dante. On the one hand, as a southerner and a poet, he was in touch with aspects of Dante's mind which have perplexed Teutonic professors. To him there is no contradiction between the ethereal platonism of the 'Vita Nuova' and the fiery purgation on the threshold of the Earthly Paradise; for, to the more analytic, as well as more impulsive, southern temperament, the juxtaposition of one love purely of the intellect with many loves wholly of the senses scarcely offers a problem. On the other hand, when he says that the object of Dante's love is not the living woman, Beatrice Portinari, but an idea, surely the modern critic is severing the two elements, human and divine, actual and ideal, which it was the genius of the medieval poet to unite. Of course, like every one endowed with a feeling for literary art, Carducci, a literary artist to the backbone, admired the manner of Dante, the *dolce stil nuovo*, which re-inaugurated literature in Europe after its eclipse in the dark ages; in Dante's subject-matter what aroused his enthusiasm was the love for Italy rather than the love for Beatrice. With what was allegorical, mystical, distinctively medieval, in Dante he is never in emotional, as distinct from intellectual, contact. When he repeats, more than once, that Dante should be regarded, not so much as the poet of Florence, but rather as the supreme exponent of the mind of medieval Christendom, we feel that he speaks from the brain, not from the heart. His inmost soul was with Dante, the Italian patriot; it was not with Dante, the cosmopolitan mystic.

This partial, not to say unsound, view of Dante was

largely determined by Carducci's attitude to the political and religious controversies of his own day. From the outset he was an extreme partisan in both. He grew up during the prolonged struggle for Italian unity and freedom, at a time when political feeling, exasperated by alternations of armed revolt and savage repression, rose to a height almost inconceivable by those accustomed, as we are, to purely civil and parliamentary differences. Moreover, it has been the misfortune of modern Italy that political and religious parties became inextricably interwoven. The head of the national worship was also the ally of the nation's foreign foes; and hostility to alien and despotic rule came to involve hostility to the Catholic Church, almost to Christianity itself, for Italians of all parties have always tended to look on religion rather as an institution than as a personal influence.

Carducci was thoroughly Italian in his blend of anti-clerical with republican enthusiasm; and it is no wonder that a political and religious bias so marked as his should have somewhat warped his literary and artistic judgment. Most men have the defects of their qualities; and with Carducci an exquisite sense of what was ancient and pagan was balanced by a certain insensibility to what was medieval and Christian. This insensibility sometimes led him to odd critical pronouncements. For example, he calls Petrarch's eighth *canzone* the finest hymn ever addressed by a Catholic to the Virgin. Had he forgotten Villon's immortal *ballade*—in his wide reading he must have come across it—or did he deliberately postpone its throbbing directness to the semi-pagan artistry of Petrarch? He was out of touch, not only with devotional poetry, but with other features of medieval literature tainted, in his eyes, by Catholic and feudal associations. His treatment of chivalry was never satisfactory; and allegory so repelled him that he could see no merit in that charming allegorical poet, Guillaume de Lorris. This aversion from the medieval spirit in its own day naturally applied far more strongly to its attempted revival in modern times. The Gothic proclivities of the leading Romantics aroused in his mind a violent dislike to the whole school.

Accordingly, his earliest volume of poems, 'Juvenilia,

opens with a repudiation of the Romantic movement in all its phases, Catholic and Satanic—a beginning that certainly suggests the student rather than the poet—though categorical avowals of literary faith are less repugnant to the spirit of Italian poetry than to that of ours. The trend of the Latin mind to classification and analysis asserts itself in literature as elsewhere. Poetry with the Latin nations is more gregarious, more a product of schools and fraternities, less of isolated inspiration, than with us. Quite genuine French and Italian poets often set out to advocate and exemplify definite poetic theories. Still the formality of the repudiation betrays the professor, just as its motives betray the partisan. They are political rather than strictly literary.

Romanticism is transalpine in origin and essentially anti-national. Tuscan by birth, Carducci will seek sounder traditions, the classic Roman poets and the Florentines of the fourteenth century. From the first there can be no doubt which of these two influences is to be really vital with him. When he writes sonnets in Petrarch's manner on Petrarch's subjects of love and exile, we feel that he is thinking of Petrarch, not of the lady to whom they are addressed; exquisite in dreamy music, they are far too imitative to convince. So soon as he expresses genuine feeling the only influence is that of the ancients, as in the sonnets on the death of his elder brother. One of these especially unites perfect sincerity with literary reminiscence, and reaches the famous valediction of Catullus by a path as direct and natural, though wholly diverse. The Horatian Odes that follow, though, from their subjects, without this tragic intensity, all have the same genuine ring, whether the poet is upbraiding his degenerate countrymen or celebrating the genialities of friendship and wine. In his 'Canto di Primavera' a sensuous joy at the return of pleasant weather blends quite naturally with a more complex wistfulness in presence of the year's renewal. It is Horace indeed still, but Horace in his most modern mood, the Horace of that 'inhorrui veris adventus,' the modernity in which shocked the scholarly instincts of Bentley. The breezes of the old Horatian spring seem interfused with the more languorous airs of Botticelli.

Of these early Odes, none, strange as it may seem, is more truly Horatian in spirit than that addressed to 'La beata Diana Giuntini, venerata in Santa Maria a Monte.' Carducci appeals to the saint by that which, after all, can alone make supernatural being real to us—her kinship to ourselves. She lived, it is true, in the age of faith.

'Quando pie voglie e be' costumi onesti
Erano in pregio e cortesia fioriva
Le tósche terre, qui l'uman traesti
Tuo giorno, o diva.'

Yet, though a *diva* (is it saint or goddess?) now, her day was human, and she had human, not to say feminine, weaknesses to overcome.

'E ti fûr vanto gli amorosi affanni,
Onde nutristi a Dio la nova etate,
E fredda e sola ne l'ardor de gli anni
Virginitate :

Pur risplendeva oltre il mortal costume
La dia bellezza nel sereno viso,
E dolce ardea di giovinezza il lume
Nel tuo sorriso.

Te in luce aperta qui l'eteree menti
Consolâr prima di letizia arcana,
Poi te beata salutâr le genti,
Alma Diana.

Onde a te, dotta de l'uman dolore,
Il nostro canto e prece d'inni ascende,
E, pieno l'anno, di votivo onore
L'ara ti splende.*

The poet then beseeches this patroness of the hamlet to rain blessings on the fields and homesteads of her worshippers, and, be it added, to help them to practise

* When pious wishes and good honest customs were rightly valued and courtesy blossomed in the Tuscan lands, here didst thou spend thy human day, O holy one. Thou didst turn to glory the yearnings of love, whence thou didst foster Godward the spring of thy years, and thy maidenhood was cold and lonely in the heyday of youth. Yet, beyond mortal wont, a godlike beauty shone in thy tranquil visage, and the light of youth glowed soft in thy smile. Here in the light of day the empyrean spirits first consoled thee with mystic gladness, then the nations hailed thee as blessed, gentle Diana. Wherefore to thee, taught by human sorrow, arise our praises and our prayers in hymns, and, when the year is full, thine altar is decked with votive honour.

the more homely virtues. The whole ode renders to perfection the holiday religion of Italy, the decorated altars and shrines, the processions of flower-laden children. At the end we are left wondering whether this tutelary *diva*, who smiles from her cloudless heaven, is really a saint or only a heathen goddess after all. Viewed thus, indeed, the worship of local saints in Italy is little more than a continuation of the old anthropomorphic cults. For anything distinctively Christian about her, the 'alma Diana' might almost be her maiden namesake of the 'Carmen Sæculare.'

Such thorough interpenetration of ancient with modern feeling is in strong contrast with most northern imitations of Roman literature. We do not here speak of felicitous Latinisms of phrase, for we all remember many such in Milton and Tennyson, but of elaborate efforts to recapture the Roman outlook. Whenever these efforts aspire beyond mere *vers de société*, the outcome is almost always a lifeless literary exercise, such as the mythological poems of Leconte de Lisle or of Théodore de Banville. This is not true of the Italians to anything like the same degree. The Renaissance itself with them was, after all, the reawakening of a culture largely indigenous; and humanism was more able to bear its weight of learning like a flower, because the flower was of native, not exotic, growth. So with more recent imitation of the ancient classics, especially the Roman. The northerner is imitating a literature produced in a foreign climate by a civilisation which even the French have imperfectly assimilated; when the Italian imitates Latin poetry he is merely treading in the footsteps of his own forefathers. The landscape of the Latin poets is his own Italian landscape. The vines and olives that gladdened the heart of Horace still clothe the Umbrian and Sabine hills, the sunshine still glows that ripened them in Horace's day. The Roman glories too are his. The strife with Hannibal is his own repulse of a foreign invader; and the names of the great consuls stir patriotic as well as literary memories. Hence no violent mental transposition was needed for Carducci to place himself at the Horatian standpoint. Horace's mood of genial enjoyment, crossed by flashes of patriotic pride, came to him unsought.

In the main, Carducci's poetic gift was strong enough to absorb his classical and his historical learning and convert them to its own use; it had a harder task with his political and religious partisanship, a task indeed that it sometimes failed to accomplish. For politics are even more conspicuous in his poetry than in his criticism. Already, in one of his early sonnets, he announces that he will devote himself to rekindling patriotic ardour in his countrymen; and in his later career he became the unofficial laureate of the Risorgimento—a position that has probably contributed more than any other cause to restrict his reputation abroad and also to enhance it, for the time being, in his own country. Everywhere verses on national topics make a wider immediate appeal than those of more intimate inspiration; and in Italy Carducci, by giving them prominence, only carried forward a national tradition which dates from the Romans. For the Romans, less meditative and less imaginative than the Greeks, brought into public life almost all the emotional intensity of which they were capable. Virgil's line about the elder Brutus, 'Vincit amor patrie laudumque immensa cupido,' might be the watchword of the whole Roman people. From Ennius to Claudian, nearly every Roman poet wrote on public topics, and often wrote his best on them. Horace is at his happiest when celebrating Roman glory; Ovid is patriotic in the 'Fasti'; even the tender Propertius is fired by the tidings of Actium. The greatest of Latin poems has nothing greater than Æneas' vision of the mighty Romans sweeping past him toward the upper world, and the address to the genius of Rome that follows. Patriotism is again conspicuous in the later poetry of Italy. The first and greatest poet in her modern tongue was also a statesman; and a passionate love of Florence burns in the 'Divine Comedy.' The exiled Petrarch felt keenly the woes of his native land, and became the friend and upholder of Rienzi. In more recent times there is as much patriotic as dramatic fervour in the eloquence of Alfieri. Even the decadent Leopardi was at his finest in the 'Canzone all' Italia' and the 'Monumento di Dante'; the best known verses of the romantic Manzoni, 'Il Cinque Maggio,' were written on the death of Napoleon. The Roman tradition in this respect, as in others, extended to French poetry also.

Victor Hugo was seldom more poetic than in 'Les deux Îles' or 'Le Chasseur Noir.'

There is a wide gulf here between the literature of the Latin races and that of the Teutonic, especially our own. In the nineteenth century, at least, the genius of English poetry has been mainly lyrical and personal, not public or rhetorical. Our poets have either held aloof from public questions, like Keats, or been at their worst when referring to them, like Shelley. So far as the poet's interest has been with the world and not absorbed in his own soul, his concern has been with individuals, not with generalities. When Browning and Rossetti wrote on this very theme of the Italian Risorgimento they produced 'The Italian in England' and 'A Last Confession,' not an ode to Italy or an invective against Austrian tyranny. Our conception of the poetic temperament is that described by Wordsworth as his own at the time of his visit to Orleans in 1791 :

'... to acts

Of nations and their passing interests,
If with unworldly ends and aims compared,
Almost indifferent, even the historian's tale
Prizing but little otherwise than I prized
Tales of the poets, as it made the heart
Beat high, and filled the fancy with fair forms,
Old heroes and their sufferings and their deeds.'

Enquiry into the probable causes of this difference between the Latin literatures and our own raises curious problems of national temperament and history. From the nature of the case the two influences cannot be sharply distinguished. National history is the outcome of national temperament and reacts upon it in a way that baffles analysis, while national literature is the outcome of both, as reflected and manifested in certain minds of distinction. By temperament we are more meditative and imaginative than the Latin peoples, more reserved and self-centred than they. We tend to brood over emotion rather than to give it instant utterance. Hence, as a nation, we are bad public speakers ; and it is curious to note how many of our prominent preachers and orators have been of Celtic or Jewish origin. History has combined with temperament to induce in the typical

Englishman a rational, rather than an emotional, treatment of public questions. Our marriage with freedom is a *mariage de raison*; our love of freedom is that love which Tennyson admired in Arthur Hallam :

‘Of freedom in her regal seat
Of England; not the schoolboy heat,
The blind hysterics of the Celt.’

And Tennyson, certainly not an unpoetic nature, probably regarded most French and Italian political verse rather in that light.

The temperament indeed of our leading poets has been in this respect at one with that of the nation at large, and has kept our poetry further from rhetoric than that of our neighbours. Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, were all famous as orators. Wordsworth confesses himself—we may well believe with truth—‘little graced with power of eloquence’ and ‘all unfit for tumult and intrigue.’ The very notion of Keats or Shelley making a speech has something incongruous. Although Tennyson was greatly interested in public questions, and often refers to them in his poems, we can scarcely fancy him a successful debater in a popular assembly. When, indeed, our poets—and it happens far more seldom than with those of France or Italy—do enter on political themes, they do so in a less rhetorical spirit. Wordsworth is philosophic and contemplative. Both in the books of the *Prelude* concerning the French Revolution and in the ‘Sonnets dedicated to National Independence and Liberty’ he is too preoccupied in analysing the processes within his own mind to have much leisure for eloquence about outside events. Mr Swinburne, with all his wonderful command of sonorous metre, is, like all the Pre-Raphaelites, primarily pictorial. His rhythm moves swiftly enough, but what is in his mind is form and colour rather than movement. The only leading English poet of a rhetorical turn is Byron; and this is probably one of the chief reasons why his popularity is greater on the Continent than in England. With us, when a poet’s work is recognised as akin to rhetoric, it is classed by that kinship as second-rate.

Apart, moreover, from any prepossession we may feel against political and rhetorical verse in general,

Carducci's poems of this kind already suffer in England, as they must suffer everywhere outside his own country, from the further disadvantage that many of them refer to incidents only known to students of recent history. While Wordsworth describes his feelings as he watched the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, we can understand that the fate of mankind was at stake ; when Victor Hugo utters his sonorous periods about the downfall of the first Napoleon, that titanic personality dominates our imagination. In Carducci foreign readers are perplexed, if not exasperated, by panegyrics on heroes and elegies on martyrs of whom they never heard, by pœans over victories and dirges over defeats which led to no lasting or widespread outcome. The Italian Risorgimento is now too far off to give us the thrill of contemporary excitement ; on the other hand, it is still too recent to have won the halo of a romantic past. Perhaps no events in which England was not directly concerned ever stirred Englishmen more deeply at the time they happened ; certainly none, not even the insurrections in Poland, are so often mentioned in English poetry. To-day the successful achievement of Italian unity, and the quite unromantic processes by which that unity was at length attained, have relegated the whole movement into the region of prose. Most educated English people travel in Italy, and the new régime suffers in their eyes from the vandalism, partly inevitable, which has followed in its wake. Heroes like Garibaldi, statesmen like Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, are vulgarised by the hideous statues put up to them and the 'long, unlovely streets' that bear their names. Again, those travellers who also read the Italian newspapers get a doubtless exaggerated impression of the jobbery and financial scandals amid which these pretentious eyesores were reared, while the corruption and iniquities of preceding governments are now forgotten.

Once this drawback is overcome a comparison of Carducci's poems on contemporary events with those of Victor Hugo is rather to the advantage of Carducci. Even in his earlier, contentious period the attack is more on institutions, less on individuals, than in 'Les Châtiments,' and sinks less often into abuse. Yet Carducci also could be vehement at times, and with success, as in his poems on the raid into the Papal States in 1867 ;

in one he effectively uses the customary exposition of the Host for twenty-four hours before capital punishments to bring out the incompatibility of the Two Swords; in another the point that, if Pius IX sees blood in the chalice, it will not be that of Christ, is clinched in Victor Hugo's most telling manner. After the abolition of the temporal power the tone grows far less combative. Advancing years brought to Carducci, as to most broad-minded men, a more tolerant and philosophic temper. Events also tended to chasten enthusiasm. The freedom and unity of Italy were not achieved in the way that patriots, especially republican patriots, had dreamt. The victors, not the vanquished, of Aspromonte entered Rome by the Porta Pia; Mazzini died an amnestied rebel; Garibaldi was repudiated to conciliate Prussia. It seemed to many that Italian freedom had been sacrificed to Italian unity.

Yet Carducci, a democrat by temperament and abstract conviction, felt nevertheless obliged to accept the monarchy. It would be a superficial view to regard his conversion as brought about by the beauty and affability of Queen Margherita, his verses to whom were interpreted by both sides as a formal retraction of republican principles. In truth he saw, as Crispi saw, that the house of Savoy could hold Italy together, while a republic would divide her. Still, he felt keenly the decline in her ideals, the mediocrity of her political and intellectual leaders. Giants had perished in the strife and left pygmies to enjoy the triumph. Disappointment at the victors made Carducci more tolerant towards opponents now finally overcome. As he sits in the public garden at Perugia, where the papal stronghold of Rocca Paolina once had stood, he reflects that in the fine spring weather the pontiff must be growing weary of his self-imprisonment, and jocularly invites 'Citizen Mastai' to come out of the Vatican and drink a health to Liberty, for which he had been so eager in his youth.

Quite apart, however, from Carducci's militant hostility to the Catholic Church, a hostility almost wholly due to transitory causes, there lay deep in his temperament an elective kinship with paganism. His Vicinese contemporary, Fogazzaro, while sharing his political views as an Italianissimo, remained an 'anima naturaliter Chris-

tiana'; Carducci, on the other hand, was an 'anima naturaliter pagana.' But his paganism is natural in every sense of the word, the genial worship of nature in a land of sunshine and vintage, quite different from the artificial paganism of the North, where paganism is an exotic, like the rest of classical culture. The northern pagan is a decadent; his dominant tone is a rebellion against moral limitations, against 'creeds that refuse and restrain.' Even the academic Leconte de Lisle spells 'Désir' with a capital letter, and in his 'Chant Alterné' treats Aphrodite Pandemos as the representative goddess of Athens. Landor is perhaps the only English pagan quite free from decadence or morbid hedonism. Most of our pagans are but melancholy Cyrenaics. Their unhealthy yearnings after Hellenism bring them nothing of Hellenic blitheness; the wine of Circe is to them a cup that inebriates but does not cheer. If we take two typical pagan poems of Mr Swinburne, 'Laus Veneris' and 'Proserpina,' the former describes an irresistible dominion of the senses, the latter is a hymn to a chthonic deity. The paganism of Carducci is of quite another tinge. There is nothing decadent or anti-social about it; and the only ethical defiance is against asceticism. When Carducci seeks to recover the Hellenic outlook he is not trying to get behind morality, but merely to get back to a more fundamental form of it. Indeed paganism would almost seem with him to resume its etymological meaning of village religion, a religion which rests on man's unsophisticated instincts. He appeals from the teaching of St Paul to that of Homer and Aristophanes, from a moral code based on personal holiness and self-denial to a moral sense of social ties and the human sanctities of the family.

This is the standpoint that Carducci sets forth in his 'Nozze,' an imitation of the well-known hymeneal song of Catullus. Like his forerunner, the modern poet gives his ode to alternating choruses of youths and maidens, and thus, by retaining the framework of ancient marriage poetry, leads us at first to believe that he will attempt to render ancient feeling on a subject whereon it differs perhaps more subtly from our own than on any other. So, to some extent, he does; but his aim is even bolder, namely, to apply such feeling to the life of our own day.

Accordingly a chorus of youths contrasts the several ideals of womanhood upheld by Dante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael; and a chorus of girls awards the palm to the last. So daring a transfer of marriage customs essentially ancient into modern times is a historical solecism rather hard to defend; once, however, it is admitted, the opinions it serves to put forward have much inward historical truth. The award quite correctly renders the classical view. As between the serene motherhood of Raphael's Holy Families and any form of purely spiritual intensity, whether as etherealised by Dante or as embodied in titanic muscularity by Michael Angelo, there is no doubt which would have appealed to the ancient mind, with its strong dislike of morbidity and maidenhood. Nature, as Renan once pointed out, cares nothing for chastity; and the ancients were nearer to nature than we are in this respect, as in many others. A modern author could scarcely let a body of maidens avow a preference for wedded over platonic love elsewhere than in a classical setting, for the intervening centuries that worshipped virginity have made impossible such frankness as that of Antigone to the Theban elders. Indeed in one respect the conception of propriety has become precisely reversed. In Hellas a girl might express a general wish for marriage, not a wish to marry a certain man; with us she may admit her love for a certain man, not her general inclination to marriage. At the end of Carducci's poem the choruses unite to upbraid the unwillingness of the modern woman to bear children and to suckle them if she does. Here, again, we are in the full tide of contemporary life, quite classically treated, however; for, although Jean-Jacques Rousseau and M. Gaston Brieux have uttered such warnings in prose, any of the Latin satirists might well have done so in verse; even the bachelor Horace spoke rather like this in his serious moods.

It is a spirit of intellectual and political, not of moral, defiance that inspired the famous 'Inno a Satana,' which is as far removed as possible from the unwholesome decadence of Baudelaire's 'Litanies de Satan.' The Satan here glorified is not Baudelaire's unclean patron of orgies, not even Goethe's spirit that ever denies, not even Milton's leader of a cosmic opposition: he simply personifies the

recreative forces of nature. Carducci assumes himself the standpoint he ascribes in one of his essays to the Middle Ages: 'Nature, the world, society, is Satan.' The love-deity, who is one of his avatars, is the benign world-wide power sung by Lucretius, worshipped under many names round the shores of the Mediterranean.

'A te, Agramainio,
Adone, Astarte,
E marmi vissero
E tele e carte,
Quando le ioniche
Aure serene
Beò la Venere
Anadiomene.

A te del Libano
Fremean le piante,
De l' alma Cipride
Risorto amante:
A te ferveano
Le danze e i cori,
A te i virginei
Candidi amori,

Tra le odorifere
Palme d' Idume,
Dove biancheggiano
Le ciprie spume.*

It is true that Venus is the first of the old heathen gods to awaken in the soul of Abelardus after the long slumber through the dark ages.

'O dal tuo tramite
Alma divisa,
Benigno è Satana:
Ecco Eloisa.

In van ti maceri
Ne l' aspro sacco;
Il verso ei mormora
Di Maro e Flacco.' †

Strenuous, as well as sensuous, forms surge upward from the ancient world in the wake of Satan.

'Ei, da le pagine
Di Livio, ardenti
Tribuni, consoli,
Turbe frementi

Sveglia; e, fantastico
D' italo orgoglio,
Te spinge, o monaco,
Su 'l Campidoglio.' ‡

* To thee, Agramainius, Adonis, Astarte, lived marbles and canvas and parchments, when Venus Anadyomene made happy the calm breezes of Ionia. To thee the cedars of Lebanon quivered, re-arisen lover of the Cyprian goddess. To thee the dances and choruses exulted. To thee yearned the unsullied loves of the maidens, among the scented palms of Idumea or where whitens the Cyprian spray.

† O soul sundered from thy path, Satan is kindly; behold Eloise! In vain dost thou macerate thyself in the harsh sackcloth: he murmurs the verses of Virgil and Horace.

‡ He from the pages of Livy awakens the ardent tribunes, the consuls, the eager throngs, and urges thee toward the Capitol, O monk distraught with the pride of Italy.

Satan not only restores the old Roman self-reverence; he is also the spirit of intellectual freedom; in the words of the essay, he is 'happiness, dignity, liberty.' His re-awakening is the Renaissance 'in its noblest aspect, as a resurrection of ideal naturalism.'

'E già già tremano
Mitre e corone:
Dal chiostro brontola
La ribellione,

E pugna e prèdica
Sotto la stola
Di fra' Girolamo
Savonarola.

Gittò la tonaca
Martin Lutero:
Gitta i tuoi vincoli,
Uman pensiero,

E splendi e folgora
Di fiamme cinto;
Materia, inalzati;
Satana ha vinto.*

Even when Satan is thus sublimated, it is rather startling to find the religious reformers among his vanguard; and Carducci seems here strangely at one with their extreme adversaries and his. Savonarola, who made a holocaust of ancient manuscripts at Florence, and Luther, who put forward justification by faith alone, rather depart from their historical setting in becoming advocates of free thought. They make dignified figures, no doubt, in the pageant of the human intellect, 'mais ils ont diablement changé en route.' On reflection, however, we are inclined to think that their ghostly foe has met them more than half-way. There is, indeed, no longer anything very fiendish about him, and we begin to share the hopes of Origen and Tillotson for his ultimate salvation. Nor can anything very like devil-worship be left in a religion, which is not only, like that of Flaubert's liberal-minded chemist in 'Madame Bovary,' 'celle de Socrate, de Franklin, de Voltaire, et de Béranger,' but also that of Luther and of Savonarola. Indeed Carducci's association of the revolted archangel with the Reformers, in some ways slightly comic, sheds a strong light on his own outlook. His quarrel is with social institutions, not with society itself. His dissatisfaction is finite, not the divine discontent of Werther or Obermann, too disgusted

* Already mitres and crowns are tottering; rebellion growls from the cloister, and fights and preaches beneath the cowl of Fra Girolamo Savonarola. Martin Luther throws off the hood; throw off thy fetters, thought of man; shine and glisten, girt with flame; matter, raise thyself; Satan has won.

with mankind to wish to better them. It was largely this freedom from personal antinomianism that threw Carducci's literary preferences on the side of order, that of the classics.

The only strong romantic and non-classical influence on Carducci—for with him the influence of Dante was scarcely non-classical—was that of Heine. It seems strange that this influence should come to him from beyond the Alps, from the Germany he so hated; but Heine, Semitic by descent and French by sympathies, could not be suspected of the social and political medievalism which had made things German so hateful to Italian patriots. What, indeed, first attracted Carducci to Heine seems to have been the contrast in this respect between him and most of his brethren and followers of the Romantic school. At least this contrast is brought out both in the essay on the mock-heroic *Atta Troll*, and also in the verses 'A un Heiniano d'Italia.' Very inferior as inspired criticism to Arnold's 'Heine's Grave,' these lines also dwell on a quite different aspect of the poet's career, that which he himself expressed by telling his friends to lay on his grave a sword, as a brave soldier in the liberation-war of humanity. Still, in his method of warfare, the humorist who called Luther 'the lover of truth and of Catherine von Borna,' had little in common with the orator of the 'Inno a Satana'; and to Carducci, as to many others, Heine's irony proved somewhat of a snare. Such moods as that of the meditations at Trent in the 'Reisebilder,' or of 'Mir träumte wieder der alte Traum,' are not to be imitated. Only perfect sincerity can excuse in art a systematic exposure of emotional reactions. If we once suspect exaggeration or, worse still, artificial exacerbation, such exposure becomes offensive; and Carducci, in his 'Brindisi funebre' and parts of his 'Intermezzo,' treads perilously near the verge. It is quite otherwise with the shorter lyrics. Such lines as 'Tedio Invernale' have not merely Heine's technical perfection, far easier to achieve in so musical a tongue as Italian, but also that ironic sadness which seems peculiar to the North. For the time it becomes to Carducci a second nature. A second nature, however, it remains, and one that cannot long displace the first. Such a sentiment as this in 'Ballata Dolorosa,'

'Cimitero m'è il mondo allor che il sole
Ne la serenità di maggio splende,'*

is inspired by a chequered northern spring, not by the serene Maytime of Italy. We need only contrast the next poem, 'Davanti ad una Cattedrale.' Here we are back in the South once more, not on the dew-drenched lawn of a Gothic minster, but in front of an Italian duomo, on a piazza deep in sand and baked by the noon-day sun. Suddenly, from the darkness within the doorway, an unsightly corpse glides into the yellow light. Again, in his vivid 'Rimembranze di Scuola,' Carducci describes how the thought of the cold stillness of the grave smote him with an icy thrill, as from his school-room he watched the birds and bees and butterflies shimmering in the warm summer without; thus again and again, he says, in later years the foreboding of death has come and gone. How unlike are these gusts of sadness to the enigmatic presence that visited the boyhood of Musset in the December night and abode with him until the morning. Into the joyous Mediterranean sunshine 'Death, the crowned phantom, may leap with the flashing of cataracts'; he is not, and cannot become, the haunting terror of northern melancholy. He may leer as a macabre anatomy from a tomb; he cannot, as with Holbein, dance beside his victim through all the winding labyrinth of life. Such besetting nightmares, like the witches and fire-drakes of Carducci's 'Carnia,' may come southwards from Germany in the twilight of dawn; offspring of savagery and gloom, they vanish at the rising of the sun and the singing of Homer.

On the whole, Carducci's early distrust of the Romantics had been a sound instinct. Now once more he compares the classic spirit to the sun, that ripens the wheat and the grapes; the romantic spirit to the moon, that glimmers on dank graveyards and forsaken ruins. Again, romantic beauty is the beauty of autumn, doomed to fade away; classic beauty is the beauty of spring, fertile and full of hope. In the 'Primavere Elleniche' the note of regret is there, but it is not persistent, as in northern *nostalgies de*

* The world is a graveyard to me when the sun shines in the serenity of May.

paganisme. In the lands of their birth the gods of Hellas never die; they only slumber, awaiting the spring, in stream and flower and tree.

'Muiono gli altri dèi; di Grecia i numi
Non sanno occaso; ei dormon ne' materni
Tronchi e ne' fiori, sopra i monti, i fiumi,
I mari, eterni.' *

In the 'Odi Barbare,' where Carducci's classicism at length finds perfect expression, what first strikes us is the novelty of the metre. Hitherto, although skilful and varied in his verse, he had never been an innovator. In theory he repudiated metrical elaborations as a veil to conceal poverty of poetic content, and in practice seldom experimented in them. His only conspicuous *tour de force* is his 'Notte di Maggio,' which is written in the most difficult of all strict metres, at all events, of all western metres, the *sestina*; it will bear comparison with the finest examples of Dante and Petrarch, or the exquisite lines of Mr Swinburne, 'I saw my soul at rest upon a day.' In the main, Carducci had used the lyric methods of his contemporaries; and his only unrhymed metre had been the narrative blank verse, often employed by Leopardi and others. When, in the 'Odi Barbare,' he attempts the unrhymed lyrics of the ancients, the lines he prefixes from Platen, and his own 'Odio l' usata poesia,' show that he fully appreciated the difficulties. So far as a foreigner may presume to judge, he has solved them.

It is not by their metre only that the 'Odi Barbare' attach themselves to what was best in the poetry of ancient Rome. They have much also of that wistful melancholy with which Virgil watched his native land, composed at length, after manifold tumults, in the golden mediocrity of Augustan peace. As the modern poet also listens to the murmur of the perennial stream and watches in the Umbrian valley the quiet life of tilth and meadow, the same to-day as two thousand years ago, he feels the poetry latent in the daily toil of country life, a feeling especially present at all times to the Latin races, and one that gives a vaguely Virgilian solemnity to the peasants

* Other godheads die; the gods of Hellas know no setting; they sleep in the trees that gave them birth, the flowers, the hills, the streams, the seas, everlastingly.

and landscapes of Jean François Millet. In Virgil's own land his Georgics make an appeal scarcely understood by those only familiar with the rougher field-work of the North; and on this homelier aspect of his genius Carducci dwelt with peculiar fondness at the dedication of the monument to him in his native Mantua. Of this, too, he is reminded now as he watches the yeomen guide the plough and the 'forza de' bei giovenchi' (a wilfully Virgilian locution)—

'de' bei giovenchi dal quadrato petto,
erti su 'l capo le lunate corna,
dolci ne gli occhi, nivei, che il mite
Virgilio amava,'

and feels the old spirit of Italy kindle within him—

'Sento in cuor l'antica
patria e aleggiarmi su l'accesa fronte
gl'itali iddii.'

He thinks, too, as Virgil thought, of the glories of Rome, of her standards planted proudly on the surrounding hills, of her steadfastness in defeat, of her magnanimity in victory; how her former foes answered her call to arms after Thrasymene, how the Carthaginians poured in headlong flight from the walls of Spoleto. The source and soul of all this greatness, in arms and in song, lay in the open-air life of the ancients:

'A piè de i monti e de le querce a l'ombra
co' fiumi, o Italia, è de' tuoi carmi il fonte.
Visser le ninfe, vissero: e un divino
talamo è questo.'

Now all is silence:

'Tutto ora tace, o vedovo Clitumno,
tutto: de' vaghi tuoi delubri un solo
t'avanza, e dentro, pretestato nume,
tu non vi siedì.

Non più perfusi del tuo fiume sacro
menano i tori, vittime orgogliose,
trofei romani a i templi aviti: Roma
più non trionfa.'*

* The comely, square-chested oxen, their moon-shaped horns curving up above their heads, mild-eyed, snow-white, that the gentle Virgil loved. . . . I feel in my heart my ancient fatherland and the gods of Italy brush my

Rome triumphs no more; and the poet's wrath is kindled against the faith that overthrew her. As he watches the devotional processions crossing the Forum Romanum, the sense of historic drama that fascinated Gibbon is merged in patriotic anger. The tutelary gods of Italy fled,

'quando una strana compagna, tra i bianchi
templi spogliati e i colonnati infranti,
procedé lenta, in neri sacchi avvolta,
litaniando,
e sovra i campi, del lavoro umano
sonanti, e i clivi, memori d' impero,
fece deserto, ed il deserto disse
regno di Dio.'

Far more truly than the Roman legions, a band of celibate ascetics have made a wilderness and called it peace. They have substituted the abortive ecstasies of mysticism for the sanctities of family life and the fruitful labour of the harvest:

'Maledicenti a l' opre de la vita
e de l' amore, ei deliraro atroci
congiugnimenti di dolor con Dio
su rupi e in grotte:
discesero ebbri di dissolvimento
a le cittadi, e in ridde paurose
al crocefisso supplicarono, empi,
d' essere abietti.' *

Whereas north of the Alps one of the most usual reproaches against Catholicism is that it is too Italian,

kindled forehead with their wings. . . . At the foot of the mountains and under the shade of the oaks, as of thy streams, O Italy, so of thy songs is the fount. The nymphs lived, they lived indeed, and this is a bridal chamber of gods. . . . All now is silent, O widowed Clitumnus, all; of thy pleasant shrines one alone is left thee, and, within, O god robed in senatorial garb, thou sittest no longer. No longer the bulls, proud victims laved in thy hallowed stream, draw Roman trophies to the ancestral shrines: Rome triumphs no more. . . .

* When a strange company, between the ravaged white temples and broken colonnades, slowly paced, wrapped in dark sackcloth, singing litanies, and over the plain, that rang with human toil and the heights mindful of imperial sway, they made a desert and called that desert the kingdom of God. . . . Cursing the works of life and of love, they held frenzied communion of grief with God on rocks and in caves. They came down mad for annihilation to the cities, and, in affrighted chorus, impiously besought the crucified godhead that they might be abject.

Carducci, as an Italian, blames it as not Italian enough. To him it appears as a morbid orientalism overspreading the healthier instincts of the Latin race, one among the many religions of the East that sapped the life of the Roman Empire. In 'Alexandria' he even represents the victory of the Church as Egypt's revenge on Rome for Augustus' triumph over 'her bleating gods.'

His meditations, 'In una chiesa gotica,' lead by a more personal road to a somewhat similar conclusion. His purpose, he says, is not worship, but a meeting with his mistress, a meeting which he compares to that of Dante with Beatrice. His mood perhaps reminds us rather more of Léon Dupuy, as he waited for Madame Bovary in Rouen Cathedral. Yet somehow an assignation in a church, which even Musset, certainly no pietist, condemned, does not seem very profane in Italy. Here at least there is no trace of the æsthetic decadent's search after emotional reactions, not even any ostentatious defiance of the Christian standpoint; the poet simply records, not very regretfully, that it has passed him by. He expresses, quite naturally, the impatience of a southern temper in the gloom of twilight and self-denial and its eagerness to get outside into sunshine and enjoyment:

'Non io le angeliche glorie né i démoni,
io veggo un fievole baglior, che tremola
per l'umid' aere: freddo crepuscolo
fascia di tedio l'anima.

Addio, semitico nume! Continua
ne' tuoi misteri la morte domina.
O inaccessible re de gli spiriti,
tuoi templi il sole escludono.*

A poem even more suggestive than this of prose fiction, both in mood and incident, is that called 'A la Stazione in una Mattina d'Autunno,' which describes the parting of a lover from his mistress at a railway station. At first sight this introduction into poetry of what to

* I see not the angelic glories nor the demons, but a feeble gleam through the dank air; chill twilight swathes my soul in gloom. Farewell, Semitic godhead! Death rules continuous in thy mysteries. O inaccessible king of spirits, thy shrines shut out the sun.

most of us is least poetic in modern life, its mechanism, seems a defiantly hazardous experiment. Hazardous of course it is, yet with less of deliberate defiance than would at first appear, far less than there would be in a like experiment by an English poet, although there are plenty of allusions to mechanical invention in English poetry. Tennyson, in the opening, afterwards cancelled, to his 'Dream of Fair Women,' describes the view from a balloon. James Thomson wrote some pretty lines about a return by train from Hampstead Heath; and Mr Henley, in his 'Song of Speed,' attempted to turn the motor-car to poetic uses. Nevertheless, efforts to treat in verse what is most modern in modern life always savour in English of the *tour de force*. A railway does not seem a natural object in a poem, any more than—in spite of Turner's 'Rain, Steam, and Speed'—it seems so in a picture. Such things are part of life's prose; and it is in the genius of our literature that prose and verse should stand apart. If they do not necessarily treat different subjects, they look at these subjects from a widely different standpoint. In English, when modern life is looked at from the poetic standpoint—the standpoint we expect in a writer of verse—what is distinctively modern in it drops out of the field of vision. If it appears, we feel it has been dragged in through some eccentric literary theory, or, worse still, from a wish to attract attention by a deliberate defiance of criticism. It would not present itself of its own accord.

There is not the same gulf between prose and verse among the Latin nations. With them there is usually little difference of subject, often none at all of standpoint; prose and verse are merely two ways of saying the same thing. It is therefore not strange that Carducci's subject, and his treatment of it, should remind us more of scenes in contemporary French novels than of any parallel in poetry. The opening description suggests impressionism, because impressionists alone have depicted such things, but there is nothing impressionist in the manner of describing:

'Oh quei fanali, come s' inseguono
accidiosi là dietro gli alberi,
tra i rami stillanti di pioggia
sbadigliando la luce su 'l fango!

Flebile, acuta, stridula fischia
 la vaporiera da presso. Plumbeo
 il cielo e il mattino d'autunno,
 come un grande fantasma, n'è intorno.'

Nor is there anything forced or unnatural in the lines
 that follow :

'Tu pur pensosa, Lidia, la tessera
 al secco taglio dàì de la guardia,
 e al tempo incalzante i begli anni
 dàì gl'istanti gioiti e i ricordi.

Van lungo il nero convoglio e vengono
 incappucciati di nero i vigili,
 com'ombre; una fioca lanterna
 hanno, e mazze di ferro: ed i ferrei

freni tentati rendono un lugubre
 rintòcco lungo: di fondo a l'anima
 un'eco di tedio risponde
 doloroso, che spasimo pare.

E gli sportelli sbattuti al chiudere
 paion oltraggi: scherno par l'ultimo
 appello che rapido suona:
 grossa scroscia su' vetri la pioggia.*

Examined from the standpoint of academic criticism
 these comparisons verge on the grotesque; viewed
 psychologically they seem quite likely to suggest them-
 selves to an imaginative temperament in an exasperated
 nervous condition. What is grotesque in them is quite

* O those lanterns, how they follow each other, lazily yonder behind
 the trees, between the branches, dripping with rain, casting a chequered
 light on the mud. Mournful, piercing, and strident, the steam-engine
 whistles close by. The sky is leaden, and the autumn morning, like a huge
 phantasm, is around us. . . . Thoughtful, Lydia, you give the ticket to the
 hard clip of the guard, and to time you give, as he treads down your years
 of beauty, the moments of gladness and the memories. Like phantoms,
 the watchmen, hooded in black, pass up and down along the dark cari-
 ages; they hold a glimmering lantern and hammers of iron, and the iron
 couplings as they are tested, give forth a mournful reverberation, long-
 drawn out; from the depths of my soul an echo of weariness answers
 sorrowfully and seems an agony. And the doors slammed at shutting seem
 insults; the last call, that whistles sharply, seems a taunt; the rain in
 coarse drops bickers against the panes,

true to life; yet the ideas would only have occurred to a most penetrative insight, while only a supreme artist would have dared to use them.

Treatment such as this of individual incident or feeling is, however, the exception in the 'Odi Barbare,' as always with Carducci. What chiefly raises these Odi above his former work is their impressive amplitude of historic recollection, perhaps only possible in a land so rich as Italy in manifold memories. Everywhere the thought of the mighty dead is with him as he drifts down the full-fed stream of the Adda, past the ruined ramparts of Lodi, past 'battlefields that nature has long since reconciled to herself with the sweet oblivion of flowers'; as he muses before the Gothic citadel of Verona, or at Bologna, his adopted home, before her towers and monasteries; as he sits by the still waters of Sirmio, where Catullus yet seems to contemplate his absent Lesbia, mirrored in the quiet shimmerings of the lake.

'Dolce tra i vini udir lontane istorie
D'atavi, mentre il divo sol precipita,
E le pie stelle sopra noi viaggiano,
E tra l'onde e le fronde l'aura mormora.'*

In this sunset glow of thronging recollections patriotic pride is sobered into a sense of the continuity in national tradition. On the death of Mazzini he had hailed him the spiritual heir of Gracchus and Dante and Columbus. Now, when Garibaldi visits Rome for the first time since the Italian occupation, he welcomes the modern dictator as one of Livy's men, worthy to take his place by the side of Romulus and Camillus. The old political and religious hatreds too are softened. The note of reconciliation, still slightly ironic in the lines at Rocca Paolina, takes a more solemn tone. The 'pie stelle,' that voyage over the head of the poet at Desenzano, are no longer lucid shapes fulfilling their destiny without heed to mankind, as in one of the early sonnets; they are become Virgil's 'conscia fati sidera.' Indeed, although in this epithet of 'pie,' recurring again and again after the ancient manner,

* 'Tis sweet among the vines to listen to far-off tales of our forefathers, while the godlike sun is setting and the gracious stars are voyaging over us, and across the waters and among the leaves the breeze is sighing.

lingers no doubt the ancient suggestion of natural duties accomplished, yet it bears also its present Italian meaning of element, pitiful, the old Virgilian *pietas* passing into that modern pitifulness of which Virgil had such strange foreshadowings. As Carducci muses at the castle of Miramar, whence Maximilian sailed for Mexico, the republican indignation of the sonnets on the expedition, and the resentment against the house of Austria that vents itself in the 'Cradle-song of Charles V,' are hushed. A solemn awe, as in the presence of mysterious forces of retribution, raises this poem to the level of tragedy. It has the grand manner of the ancients in handling contemporary events, the manner of Æschylus in the 'Persæ.'

The strongest poems in Carducci's last volume, 'Rime e Ritmi,' are those that continue this historical vein, the most congenial to his peculiar quality. Lines entitled 'Alle Valchirie,' on the murder of the Austrian Empress, recall 'Miramar,' though certainly inferior to it. Altogether there is a falling-off since the 'Odi Barbare' in strength and spontaneity, in the higher kind of imagination, a falling-off that leaves the besetting weaknesses more evident. A still larger proportion of the poems are on political and occasional topics, and everywhere the philosophic observer of public events tends more and more to override the poet. So does the historian and critic of literature. Like most literary poets in this age of criticism, Carducci at all times of his career wrote much in verse about other poets, sometimes by way of panegyric, sometimes in order to reconstruct a historical setting, sometimes to study the mood that a poem induced in himself.

Among his pieces of this kind the most interesting to English readers are probably those on English poets. He shared the general admiration of the Latin peoples for Byron, to whom there is a fine sonnet in the 'Rime e Ritmi,' and the 'Odi Barbare' include poems written 'Beside the Urn of Shelley' and 'On Reading Christopher Marlowe.' His sense of these poets is not quite that of Englishmen to-day. He greets Byron as the champion of Hellenic freedom, and disclaims his pessimism and satire. Shelley is welcomed to the islands of the blessed by the epic and tragic heroes and heroines, and hailed as 'poeta del liberato mondo'; surroundings and titles alike suggest

'Prometheus' and 'The Cenci,' perhaps even 'The Revolt of Islam,' rather than the lyrics which are now Shelley's chief glory in his own country. As Carducci reads Marlowe on a sultry journey by the seashore of the Campagna, the malarial landscape leads him to dwell on what seems unwholesome and mephitic in the playwright, his fondness for lurid crimes and barbaric excesses. What may be called the romantic side of the Renaissance, its love of strangeness, its lawless assertion of the prerogative of personality, was uncongenial to Carducci; to his essentially classical temperament the Renaissance appealed as a return from the superstitious frenzy of the Middle Ages to the ordered sanity of the ancients. As he grew older his poetic imagination lost the ardour needed to fuse his literary and historical learning into poetry. One need only compare the sonnets to Nicola Pisano in his last volume with the ode to La Beata Diana Giuntini in his first. Each renders the blending of paganism with the Catholic faith; in the ode it is suggested with the intuition of poetic fancy; in the sonnets it is set out with the precision of a philosophic history of Tuscan art.

Carducci's strong sense of local colour also now sometimes betrayed him. Many of his poems with topographical titles degenerate into mere enumeration of places and their characteristics, as in 'Piemonte.' In others the limitations of his historical sympathy still handicap him. Even in the Church of Polenta the Gothic capitals seem grotesque intruders from the northern gloom into a land hallowed by Hellenic memories. Yet, while the poet sits and muses where Dante may once have knelt and beheld the face of God, as he wept for his 'bel San Giovanni,' dislike of Catholicism is overcome by a sense of the historic function of religion as the great consoler. He summons the Italian people, 'l'Italia gente da le molte vite,' to answer the call of the angelus to prayer and closes with lines not unworthy to be set beneath Millet's picture:

'Una di flauti lenta melodia
passa invisibil fra la terra e il cielo:
spiriti forse che furon, che sono
e che saranno?

Un oblio lene de la faticosa
vita, un pensoso sospirar quïete,
una soave volontà di pianto
l' anime invade.

Taccion le fiere e gli uomini e le cose,
roseo 'l tramonto ne l'azzurro sfuma,
mormoran gli alti vertici ondegianti
Ave Maria.*

An overpowering sense of such things—the vaguest word is the best—is the unmistakable token of the poetic temperament; and a power like this to express that sense in an artistic form would alone mark Carducci as a genuine poet.

We venture to doubt, however, whether, outside Italy, he will ever acquire widespread poetic fame. The exceptional difficulty of his Italian is not an insuperable hindrance; Dante, most obscure of Italian poets, is also the most widely read. Still, this difficulty is a hindrance to many English people, even to such as have a working knowledge of the language. These may be advised to begin on a translation of selected poems, with the Italian on the opposite page, lately brought out by Mrs Francis Holland. Mrs Holland has hampered herself by a resolution to adhere to the original metres, and, perhaps for that reason, her renderings will hardly give the English reader much idea of the beauty of Carducci's work. But they will be a useful help to those who know a little Italian and wish to make acquaintance with Carducci. For her book, which opens with a short introductory study, includes several of the poet's finest pieces. And indeed it is a good illustration of the wealth of really striking work he produced that Mrs Holland's selections scarcely anywhere overlap the quotations here given. There are, however, other causes besides the difficulty of his language which have hampered his reputation abroad and also suggest misgivings as to its permanence at home, at least in its present extent. Everywhere the average

* A soft melody of flutes passes unseen between earth and heaven; sprits perhaps that were, that are, and are to be. A soft forgetfulness of wearisome life, a thoughtful sighing after rest, a gentle yearning for tears, steals over the soul. Men and beasts and things are silent, the sun sets in rose-coloured vapours, and the lofty waving heights murmur 'Ave Maria.'

reader of poetry reads it for the matter, not for the manner; and Carducci will cease in time to give that reader what he seeks, the reflection and interpretation of his own feelings. In pure literature what makes for lasting popularity is individual human interest. 'Maud' is read for the hero's love story, not for the author's opinions on the Crimean war and the Manchester school in economics; the emotional crises in the life of Jean Valjean make us bear with the political disquisitions in 'Les Misérables.' Now this human interest, present in Tennyson and Victor Hugo, is absent from Carducci. He never attempted the creation of character; and his own feelings expressed in verse are seldom of lyric intensity or such that all mankind can share them. His own reference in his 'Intermezzo' to

'Questo cuor, che amor mai non richiese,
Se non forse a le idee,'*

is rather too suggestive of Goethe's saying about Platen, that he had every other gift but wanted love. To enjoy what is best in the 'Odi Barbare' requires historic imagination and the knowledge that alone gives that imagination scope. In the marmoreal ode 'Sul' Adda,' for instance, there is an impressive reverie over departed conquerors not unworthy of Omar Khayyam; there is no throb of human passion as in Browning's 'Love among the Ruins.'

Carducci's fame will endure, but with the few, not with the many. His appeal in the future will be to those endowed with historic imagination and the still rarer literary perception needed to appreciate his mastery of poetic form. For readers so gifted, nowhere very numerous, the 'Odi Barbare' will become a classic in the truest sense, and Carducci will continue to be what Signor d'Annunzio has called him, in the 'Greeting to the Master' that closes the 'Laus Vitæ,' 'the mediator between two worlds,' that of ancient Rome and that of modern Italy.

J. SLINGSBY ROBERTS.

* This heart which no love ever claimed, save perhaps for ideas.

Art. II.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

1. *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer.* By Richard Burn, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1755.
2. *The Local Government Act, 1888.*
3. *Local Government in England.* By Josef Redlich and Francis W. Hirst. Two vols. London, Macmillan, 1903.
4. *Local and Central Government, a Comparative Study of England, France, Russia, and the United States.* By Percy Ashley. London, Murray, 1906.
5. *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act. The Parish and the County.* By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. London: Longmans, 1906.

WHEN the political history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century comes to be written, it is certain that few things will occupy a larger space in it than the development of local government. That development has been immense. Whether it has been an unmixed advantage is a subject on which opinions may differ, but for good or for ill the extension of municipal government to the counties has brought about a change little short of a revolution. It may be that we live too near the time for any adequate account of the movement to be yet written. So far, in this country, there has been none. The best attempt is that of Herr Redlich, which Mr Hirst has translated and brought up to the English standpoint. The book, however, has one great fault, the usual fault of most of our writers on local government, it is written from the outside. For instance, whatever may be the theoretical view, no one who has sat at petty or quarter sessions would have stated that 'the struggles in regard to the settlement of paupers form an important part of the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace.' In twenty-five years' experience of those courts we have never known a case occur at petty sessions, and only two at quarter sessions. In theory the law of settlement is most important, in practice few barristers' libraries contain the great authority on the subject, 'Burrows' Settlement Cases.'

Possibly the fact that the lawyer who writes books

has little practical experience in the actual working of his subject may be the reason why there is no really good modern work on the office and duties of the justice of the peace. There are plenty of books on the practice before justices. The well-known treatises by Oke and Stone have sufficed to point out to the justices the way in which they should go, and they have required nothing more. A really good, modern, trustworthy, history of the office and duties of the great unpaid is still a want in our literature. What Lambard and Dalton did for their generations we want some one to do for ours. The best available substitute is 'The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer,' by Richard Burn, the work, not of a lawyer, but of an active clerical justice, whose experience of the Westmorland Quarter Sessions made him a practical authority, securing for his book such a reputation that it has passed through upwards of thirty editions, and, although published over a century and a half ago, is still an accepted text-book. In some degree Mr Webb's work supplies this want, but it stops at the Reform era, and does not profess to give the developments of the last sixty years. Still, for the period it covers, it gives one of the best accounts we have of the way in which the magistrates, before the Reform Act of 1832, discharged their duties.

Among the changes then brought about probably the most far-reaching was the reform of the municipal corporations. The system then introduced into the towns has, by the Acts of 1888 and 1894, been extended to counties and country districts. Powers have been taken away from the justices and new powers heaped upon the new bodies. The tendency to give the county councils larger and larger powers is shown in the legislation of each year. Soon they will become, if they are not so already, the most powerful local bodies that have ever been in existence in England or in Europe. They have already gone beyond their predecessors the municipal corporations.

The fact that these powers are expressly granted to the new councils by Parliament and are not a survival of any old jurisdiction does not seem to be fully appreciated. Messrs Redlich and Hirst define local government as 'the carrying out by inhabitants of localities, or their elected representatives, of the duties and powers with which they

have been invested by the Legislature, or which devolve upon them at Common Law.*

But no common law powers devolve on these statutory bodies; all their powers are derived by express statutory grant. If once they act outside the four corners of the statutes conferring their powers the courts will restrain their action. They possess no original jurisdiction, no common law powers. County councils cannot spend a farthing on any object however deserving unless some Act of Parliament empowers them to do so. For instance, they can pay for damage arising from wear and tear to a school-house, but not to a school-playground. They can pay the costs of opposing, but not of promoting Bills in Parliament. It is this principle, that if they act *ultra vires* the central power can at once step in and prevent any such action, that forms the best and greatest check on the conduct of local authorities. While the powers of local bodies in England are greater than those on the Continent, nowhere are local bodies kept so tightly within the strict letter of their powers as in England.

The story of the change from the old to the new order of things begins with the reform of the corporations in the towns and the poor-law system in the counties. The 246 towns to which the Municipal Corporation Act applied were, says Mr Ashley,† 'in the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy. Confusion and corruption were almost inevitable, the corporate funds and municipal offices were openly used for the individual benefit of members of the town councils or other freemen.'

All this that Act changed. It gave

'the municipal franchise to all ratepayers, made the councils elective, abolished life membership, put an end to trading monopolies and privileges, provided for a better system of appointments to salaried offices, secured publicity for all proceedings of the new authorities, and withdrew all judicial functions from the aldermen as such.'‡

This was the reform of the towns. In the counties the first reform was the poor law. This had been based on the statute of the 43 Elizabeth, which had made each parish responsible for its own poor, under the conditions

* Vol. i, p. xxiv.

† p. 218.

‡ p. 221.

of society which prevailed in 1603, and the changes in land tenure and cultivation that two hundred years had produced rendered it quite unsuitable as a practical system for the nineteenth century.

'The poor rate' (says Mr Ashley)* 'had come to be regarded by employers in country and town alike as a source of grants in aid of wages; . . . the actual administration of relief was in the hands of small shopkeepers and farmers untrained in business habits and afraid of unpopularity; there was no central control.'

All this was changed by the Poor Law Act of 1834. The parish ceased to be the unit of responsibility, relief was no longer given by the parishioners. The administration was placed in the hands of elected bodies called Boards of Guardians, bodies to whom the justices of the peace living within the area of the union were added as *ex-officio* members. A strict central authority was established to supervise the regular administration of the poor law, and, not the least important point, the accounts of the guardians were annually audited.

With this change, and with changes in the power of granting licenses, and as to highways, the body that had been the most threatened of all, the county justices, passed safely through the storm of reform.

'All the efforts of the reformer' (says Mr Webb) 'were concentrated, not on reorganising the local government of the rural districts, but on stripping the rulers of the county of their powers, and either throwing away the control and supervision which these powers afforded, or else entrusting them to a department of the central government.'†

So the efforts failed.

With licensing Bills in the air, it is interesting to note the great effort of licensing of the reformed Parliament, the Beer-house Act of 1830, which enabled beer-shops to be set up without the assent of the justices. This power was at once largely exercised, and in six months no less than 26,000 new drinking dens were established. We who blame the justices for the number of licensed houses should remember that the increase was not their doing. The Highway Act of 1835 limited the justices' jurisdiction

* p. 217.

† Webb, p. 603.

on highways; but this was all. 'Against the institution of the unpaid justice of the peace, the method of his appointment, or the comprehensive powers recited in the ancient commission of the peace, no adverse action was taken even under the reform Ministry.* The justices of the peace alone among the different units of local government survived, 'unchanged in their unrepresentative character, unchecked in their irresponsibility, unfettered in their powers of expenditure, and unreformed either in the method of their appointment or in the secrecy of their procedure.†

Mr Webb ascribes this to the fact that quarter sessions and petty sessions were still regarded by the public, not as county administrative authorities, but essentially as courts of justice. We rather think that it was to a great extent due to the result of the enquiry into the ways of municipal corporations, which showed nothing but rottenness and corruption, while the enquiry by the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1834 into rates failed to show any financial corruption in the administration of the justices. There was also the difficulty as to who was to take their place. The only alternative appeared to be stipendiary justices, an idea which was denounced in this Review in the strongest language as setting up a class who,

'without consequence as lawyers, of no rank in their learned profession, without the influence of property or birth, with no station in the county or neighbourhood where they administer justice, . . . would not be proof against the temptation to which indigent authority surrounded by wealth is exposed.'‡

So, amid the zeal of reformers, the justices survived and the reform of county government was left unattempted for over half a century.

During this time the justices at quarter sessions were becoming a more powerful body than their predecessors. Sir Robert Peel created the new police force. Although at first it lay with the justices to say if they would establish this force in their county, this option was soon taken away, and the court of quarter sessions was compelled to become the responsible authority for administering this new method of keeping the king's peace.

* Webb, p. 605.

† p. 608.

‡ 'Quarterly Review' (1828), p. 268.

Neither the new boards of guardians nor the new highway authorities proved to be altogether satisfactory, and Parliament gave back to quarter sessions some of its poor law powers in the new jurisdiction over lunatics, and some of its highway powers as to the main roads. In fact quarter sessions had by 1888 more than regained any authority it had lost after the Reform Act. To exercise all these powers involved money, and the increasing cost of local administration gave rise to a demand that the bodies who spent the money should not be mere nominees of the Crown, but should to some extent be elected by the ratepayers. This demand was plausible, but it was really based on a fallacy. It is true the courts of quarter sessions were composed entirely of nominees of the Crown, or, as Mr Webb states it, 'almost exclusively of the principal landed proprietors within the county, whose fathers and grandfathers had held their estates before them';* yet, through their tenants, these men paid the larger part of the rates, and every addition of a penny in the £ meant an additional charge on themselves. So far as it might be desirable that the county expenditure should be controlled by the owners of property in the county, quarter sessions did this far more effectively than county councils do or have done. No person was qualified to be a member of quarter sessions if he had less than 100*l.* a year in land. Any one is qualified to be a county councillor who occupies a house, whatever may be its annual value.

In addition to the bodies who had been entrusted with local government, in 1875 a new set of authorities arose, urban and rural sanitary authorities. It is true they were only the governing bodies of the towns and the boards of guardians in the country under new names; yet a very large addition of powers, especially as to sanitary matters, was given them. At first the powers of these bodies were not turned to much account, but gradually they have developed into very important local authorities, and have practically taken over all the administrative work relating to public health.

Nothing shows the English administrative system better than the way in which the great local revolution

* Webb, p. 386.

of 1888 was brought about. A unique opportunity then offered itself, such as is never likely to occur again, to establish one great administrative authority having the charge of all local work, while leaving to the magistrates the whole of the judicial business. This opportunity was lost. What was done was to take from the magistrates most of their administrative work, and to create a new body to whom such administrative work was transferred. This new body, the county council, was for the future to be the supreme county authority. But even to this body the transfer was not complete. Poor law, sanitary, highway authorities still remained with all their powers, while a totally new body, composed half of county councillors, half of magistrates, called the 'Standing Joint Committee,' was set up to manage and control the county police and county buildings.

It is almost twenty years since this great change was effected, so that it is possible to give some answer to the question whether it has been a success. As a merely administrative machine the county council has more than justified its existence. If any evidence was required to prove this, it is shown by the new powers which every session Parliament bestows on these bodies. Education and diseases of animals, preservation of ancient monuments and supervision of midwives, regulations of commons and adjustment of weights and measures, are some of the heads of work these bodies are now supposed to perform. It may well be that the multifarious nature of their duties may tend to the work being done in a perfunctory way, and the question may be fairly asked, is not the limit of the powers of county councils to do satisfactory work almost reached? While it is wonderful what is done, there are some considerations that point to the fact that it is quite possible this excessive load of work may be productive of future trouble.

In the first place, the work, being too great for the whole council to do, is necessarily done by committees. The average county councillor is placed on some one committee, and all he sees or knows of the business of the council is the small part done by his own committee. So the district he represents has really but little voice in the discussion of all the range of county council work except the part done by the committee on which its own

representative serves. It follows that, if the councillor wants any information on any other subject, or anything done, he goes to one of the county officials to get the wishes of his constituents carried out. Hence it is that the control of county affairs is passing largely into the hands of the county officials. They have to deal with the cases as they arise, and it is seldom that the chairman of the committee questions the official's action, still more seldom that the council reverses the action of its committee. Therefore in most counties the permanent officials really 'run' the council, and even in counties where this is not so, matters are never so fully considered and discussed as they used to be by quarter sessions. The hold of the official is greatly strengthened in another way. A central body, known as the County Councils Association, sits in London to consider measures and matters affecting the general interests of county councils. The different departments of government—the Home Office, the Local Government Board, the Board of Education, and the Board of Agriculture—find it useful to keep in direct touch with this organisation; in consequence it has not only a direct but also a strong indirect influence on all proposals affecting county councils. The association consists of representatives of each county council in England and Wales, and among the representatives are the clerks. These officers are the most regular attendants at the meetings of the association; insensibly they come to regard all county council work from the official point of view, with the result that the policy that runs through the councils is the official policy. So every year the officials are getting the county councils more and more under their control.

A further point that is occasionally heard a good deal of, especially at election times, is the spending power of county councils. If they are to do the work entrusted to them it can only be done by a large expenditure, and, as the work annually increases, by an increasing expenditure. Whether it could be done at a less cost than it is no two persons agree. But one thing is perfectly certain, that no member sent to a county council to keep down the rates will ever be able to do so. County finance is both complicated and difficult, and the way in which the

councils receive their revenue from Government is enough to craze any amateur financier. No one can ever tell how much of the amount of the Exchequer contribution grant, the great source of income, belonging to any year will be paid within that year or not, no one can say precisely what the total of the grant will be. A certain sum has to be provided, and it is always so much easier to get it by a small addition to the rates than by effecting economies that the temptation to do this is quite irresistible. But there is worse than this. Nothing commends itself so much to the average county councillor as a loan, to make future generations pay part of current expenses, so loans have been raised for one purpose and another to such an extent that the rate to keep down the interest and instalments in some cases equals the whole of the rest of the county rate. In most counties the financial position is not satisfactory, and it will be from this side that the opposition to county councils will probably arise.

Another evil caused by county councils should not be left out of sight, for it is one which seems on the increase. The county council naturally draws the best local men of the district as its members. The work of the council is so heavy that the county councillors cannot find time to do any other public business, hence the minor local bodies lose their best men and fall into the hands of those who have axes to grind. It is difficult to realise the difference made by the presence or absence of one strong man on a small local body, and it may well be that the want of even capable chairmen of these minor bodies is having a very disastrous effect on their usefulness.

For these reasons we are inclined to think that, although county councils have been a great success, they yet contain dangerous elements, which may develop in such a way as greatly to impair their usefulness if not to do worse. The dangers that were so freely predicted at their outset they have to a great extent survived, but these other dangers are none the less real because they were not predicted.

If the separation of the administrative from the judicial work of the counties has been a success from the administrative side, what has been the result from the judicial side? It is difficult to answer the question, as

the conditions have been so greatly changed, but on the whole it may be said the change has not been beneficial. At first it was thought that nothing was left for quarter sessions to do, with the result that a number of justices ceased to attend, and this caused a decline both in their importance and in the interest in their proceedings. It became necessary to fill up vacancies and to increase the number of justices to get the work done; so, to secure persons who would attend, justices were appointed from a much lower class than was formerly the case. This led to more of the old justices staying away, as they objected to working with the new men, especially with the *ex-officio* justices under the Local Government Act, 1904. Some of the sons of the old justices, who would in the old order of things have become members of the bench as a matter of course, either did not care to be appointed, or, if they were appointed, never came to quarter sessions. Thus a gradual change has been going on, much greater in some counties than in others, with the result that a new generation of justices has arisen.

In the last two years the change has been made greater. Up to 1906 no one could act as a county justice who was not qualified by the possession of an income of 100*l.* a year derived from lands. This has been now repealed, and any one can now be appointed a justice of the peace. This alteration in the law has entirely altered the character of justices. They represented, or were supposed to represent, the landed interest of the county, now they merely represent such persons as have sufficient influence to get their names brought before the Lord Chancellor for the appointment. What the effect will be sufficient time has not yet elapsed to say, but it is certainly a very hazardous experiment; and if the state of things in boroughs, where no qualification was ever needed for the bench, is to be taken as an example, it does not seem likely to be a success. Great as is this change, a more startling proposal was made last year. The custom has prevailed for many years that the persons to be appointed justices for counties should be nominated to the Lord Chancellor by the lord lieutenant of the county. There was no law to that effect, and from time to time appointments were made without any such nomination. As it is obvious that the Lord Chancellor must

obtain some local knowledge of the fitness of persons for the post, the King's representative, his lieutenant, was the obvious source to which he applied for it. When the present Government came into office a loud outcry was raised by members of Parliament and others that a number of persons, because they were radicals and because they had rendered greater or less service at the election, should be made county justices. Lists were sent to the Lord Chancellor containing the names of persons whose only possible qualifications were either political opinions or political services. Fortunately the Lord Chancellor, in spite of great pressure and great outcry, refused to place on the bench persons who could show no better qualifications. Large additions were made to the magistracy in different counties, but much less than were demanded, and, thanks to the Lord Chancellor's sense of responsibility with regard to the administration of justice, the evil has been avoided for the time.

It is most probable that, both on the administrative and the judicial sides, the present state of local government is one of transition. The commission that is now sitting on poor-law administration may be the death warrant of all the systems of local government that have arisen round boards of guardians, and may propose the transfer of all such powers to county councils, leaving to guardians nothing but the distribution of relief. Or we may see the setting up of some authority, with jurisdiction over a wider area than the county, who will relieve the county councils of much of their work. So, again, on the judicial side, we are continually threatened with the abolition of the great unpaid and the substitution of stipendiaries. This has been threatened so often that we shall not believe in it until we see it. Whatever may be the changes, either administrative or judicial or both, of one thing we are perfectly certain, that no system will work, nor will command the confidence of the English people, that does not in some way utilise the services of the English gentry and secure for that class a preponderance over the combined forces of the agitator, the faddist, and the man who becomes a member of a public body because he has an axe to grind.

Art. III.—GREEK PAPYRI AND RECENT DISCOVERIES.

1. *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre*. Découverts et publiés par G. Lefébvre. Cairo, 1907.
2. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Parts I-V. Edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898-1907.
3. *Archæological Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1891-1907.
4. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*. (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs, VIII and XI.) By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy and Prof. J. Gilbert Smyly. Dublin, 1891-1905.
5. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. Catalogue, with Texts and atlases of facsimiles. Vols I-III. By F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell. London: British Museum, 1893-1907.
6. *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen in Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*. Vols I-III. By U. Wilcken, F. Krebs, P. Viereck, W. Schubart, and others. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1906.
7. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. Parts I-V. By U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, H. Diels, W. Schubart, and others. Berlin: Weidmann, 1904-1907.
8. *Papyri Greco-egizii publicati dalla R. Accademia dei Lincei*. Vol. I: *Papiri Fiorentini*. By G. Vitelli. Milan: Hoepli, 1906.
9. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. Vols I-IV. Edited by U. Wilcken. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899-1907.

GREEK scholars of the present generation have enjoyed, and are still enjoying, an unique experience. Their good fortune in the recovery of so many works long supposed to be hopelessly lost, so many of which the names had been barely known or little noticed, has often been compared to that of the Italian scholars of the Renaissance. But the conditions are far from being the same. The contemporaries of Petrarch and Poggio were engaged, not so much in discovering lost manuscripts, as in recovering the lost taste for a whole literature. The manuscripts of the great Greek authors had been extant in the East and in a few Western libraries, but there had been none to appreciate them till, at the psychological

moment, the men of the Renaissance discovered these springs of living water, and refreshed themselves and humanity from their stores. This is not a description which could be applied to the present generation. Modern scholars could not justly be charged either with ignorance of Greek or with want of appreciation of it. The uniqueness of their experience lies in the fact that to them, and to them alone, has it been vouchsafed to recover from the sands of Egypt a rapid succession of Greek works which no human eye had seen for perhaps a millennium and a half.

It is true that there have been anticipations and partial realisations of such a resurrection in the past. The men of the Renaissance, in their new-born enthusiasm for classical literature, unearthed from monastic libraries, where they were as completely buried as in Egyptian rubbish heaps, certain authors (such as Catullus and Tacitus) of whom the memory had well-nigh perished. In 1752 the discovery of a library of charred papyrus rolls at Herculaneum raised hopes which were considerably dashed when it appeared that their contents were exclusively philosophical, and for the most part in such a state that little could be extracted in the form of continuous texts. It was during the publication of these (largely promoted—be it remembered to the credit of one for whom a good word is seldom said nowadays—by the Prince Regent) that Wordsworth wrote his well-known lines:

‘O ye, who patiently explore
The wreck of Herculanean lore,
What rapture, could ye seize
Some Theban fragment, or unroll
One precious, tender-hearted scroll
Of pure Simonides.’

Wordsworth’s aspirations were a century too early. A ‘Theban fragment’ of no little interest has come to light within the last few months. For Simonides we still wait; but his nephew, Bacchylides, was recovered ten years ago, and is one of the principal trophies, from the literary point of view, of the present age of discovery.

This, however, is to anticipate. In the early part of the last century a fresh flutter of excitement was raised by the recovery of the work of the great jurist, Gaius,

from a palimpsest at Verona, and for a time there were confident hopes of accessions to the extant remains of classical literature from such MSS., in which the text originally inscribed on the vellum had been but partially effaced when the material was used again for some later writing. Fragments of Cicero's 'De Republica' and other less important works were actually recovered in this way; but the total harvest was not great. In 1847 a truer foretaste of the joys to come was vouchsafed. Egypt had already, since 1778, yielded some discoveries of writings on papyrus; but, with the exception of one manuscript of a book of the 'Iliad,' all these were non-literary documents. In 1847, however, a large roll containing three of the lost orations of Hyperides, the great contemporary of Demosthenes, came to light; and in the course of the next nine years another oration of Hyperides and an important fragment of the lyric poet Aleman were added to the list of recovered Greek classics. The promising vein thus tapped proved, however, to be disappointing. No important discoveries came from Egypt for another generation. It is true that in 1877 a vast mass of papyrus documents was discovered in the Fayum, which has since been the most prolific source of Greek papyri; but the literary fragments among them were few in number, small in extent, much mutilated, and slowly and inadequately edited. It was not until fourteen years later that the new era of literary discovery was fairly established.

The year 1891 may indeed be said, without the exaggeration which usually attends the phrase, to have been epoch-making, for it marked the beginning of a new period, the importance of which in the history of Greek literature cannot be denied. In that year Prof. Mahaffy published the first part of the Petrie Papyri (so called after their discoverer, Prof. Flinders Petrie), which included portions of the 'Phædo' of Plato and the lost 'Antiope' of Euripides, together with smaller fragments of Homer and other authors, written upon papyrus in the early part of the third century B.C., 600 years earlier than the earliest Biblical MSS. then known, and 1300 years earlier than the generality of Greek classical MSS. In the same year the Trustees of the British Museum published the lost 'Constitution of Athens' of Aristotle,

the poems of Herodas—the latter not merely lost, but hardly known even by name—a portion of another oration of Hyperides, and early copies of parts of Homer, Demosthenes, and Isocrates. It is not merely the quantity and value of these discoveries that made the year 1891 memorable; it opened the door, so to speak, to a train of distinguished followers. In 1892 the Louvre acquired and published yet another oration of Hyperides, that against Athenogenes, which, with the funeral oration (already in the British Museum), ranked in antiquity as his finest work. In 1893 came a long treatise on medicine, embodying large extracts from a work by Menon, the pupil of Aristotle. In 1897 (another of the great years) the British Museum published the Odes of Bacchylides; M. Nicole (of Geneva) edited an interesting fragment of Menander; and Messrs Grenfell and Hunt began (under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund) that splendid series of discoveries on the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus, which have formed the centre of interest for the last decade, which have given us scores of fragments of Greek works, known and unknown, besides hundreds of documents of the greatest value for the history of Græco-Roman Egypt, and which are still far from being exhausted. The record of the last ten years is indeed largely the record of the achievements of this pair of indefatigable explorers and strenuous and accurate editors. Germany, Italy, and France have, indeed, published great quantities of non-literary documents within the same period, and the stream of articles in learned periodicals on the Continent has been incessant; but it is only quite lately that literary papyri have appeared in any considerable quantities elsewhere than in England. In 1903 the Berlin Museum published a poem of the lost dithyrambist, Timotheus of Miletus, which, in addition to its curious literary interest, has the distinction of being the oldest Greek literary MS. in existence, dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. This has been followed by a considerable portion of the commentary of Didymus on Demosthenes; by a long but not very valuable commentary on the 'Theætetus' of Plato; some very attractive fragments of Sappho, Corinna, and Euripides; and various texts, prose, and verse, of minor interest.

These are but the most important in an ever-increasing succession of discoveries, of which it is difficult to keep count. At the beginning of 1904 it was calculated that the number of published literary papyri, large and small, was approximately 350, without reckoning theological texts, which might have been estimated at another 60. Of these, about 160 contained texts not previously known; about 110 contained portions of Homer, and the remaining 80 were divided among other already extant works, the leading places being taken by Demosthenes and Plato. Since then very considerable additions have been made to these figures, so that the total of published literary papyri now falls little short of 600. And so far from being exhausted is the supply, that the year 1907, in its concluding month, established its claim to rank with 1897, with 1891, and with 1847 as one of the *anni mirabiles* in the fortunes of Greek literature.

The titles of the two volumes on which this claim rests are given at the head of this article. One stands to the credit of France, the other to that of England. Precedence is given to the former, alike as the earlier in date and as the discovery from which most was expected. Ever since the recovery of lost classics from Egypt came within the range of practical politics, it has seemed reasonable to believe that Menander was one of the authors most likely to benefit thereby. In an article published in this Review fourteen years ago, dealing with the recovered orations of Hyperides, the following remark occurs :

‘Had the possibility of such a discovery [i.e. the discovery of Greek literary papyri in Egypt] been realised, there were two authors whom most scholars would have named as those, the loss of whom was most surprising, and the recovery of whom might be held most probable. The first of these was Menander, the second Hyperides. For Menander we wait still; but Hyperides was the first-fruits of the new harvest.’

The popularity of Menander in ancient times was immense. He was as much the most prominent among the authors of the New Comedy as Aristophanes was among the authors of the Old Comedy; and it was the New Comedy which appealed most to the Hellenistic Greek, and was most read in the circles which looked up to Alexandria for guidance. Homer remained, indeed,

unquestioned at the head of Greek literature, with a position which can only be compared to a combination of those held in this country by the English Bible and Shakespeare; but next in popularity to him, if we are to judge from the frequency with which they are quoted, came Euripides and Menander. Menander is as quotable as Pope, and a multitude of his single lines were current as popular expressions of proverbial wisdom. His style was easy, his subjects within the comprehension of all, and independent of temporary or local allusions. Everything, in fact, seemed to prove that he must have been one of the authors most read by the Greeks in Egypt, and therefore one of the most likely to be recovered as the *débris* of their libraries came to light.

Nevertheless Menander was slow to make his appearance. While Homeric papyri were dug up by scores, while no less than six orations of Hyperides had been discovered, while, on the other hand, so obscure an author as Herodas had been restored to our knowledge, still no trace was to be found of Menander. At last, in 1897, a considerable fragment (about 80 lines of the play entitled 'The Husbandman') was acquired and edited by Prof. Nicole; in 1899 Messrs Grenfell and Hunt published about 50 lines of 'The Shorn Lady' (or 'The Rape of the Lock'), which they had unearthed at Oxyrhynchus; and in 1903 the same editors published about 100 lines (of which, however, 40 were but half preserved) from 'The Parasite.' These substantial but somewhat tantalising fragments prepared the way for the much greater and truly notable discovery which was announced at the end of 1906, and published, with most laudable promptitude, at the end of 1907. The fortunate discoverer and editor was M. Gustave Lefébvre, Inspector of Antiquities in the Egyptian service. In the course of his official duties he was led to make a small excavation on the site of a ruined house at a place called Kom Ishgau, in Upper Egypt, and here he lighted upon a jar in which were preserved, among a large number of documents (mostly Coptic), several leaves of a papyrus book containing plays which were readily identified (through the occurrence in them of passages already known by quotations in other writers) as the work of Menander. Unfortunately a great part of the ms. had disappeared, and not all the

recovered leaves were continuous. Four plays are represented in them: the prologue (13 lines) and 50 lines of the first scene of 'The Demi-God' ('Ἡρώς'); more than 500 lines (about half the play) of 'The Arbitration' ('Ἐπιτρέποντες'), mostly in excellent preservation; about 300 lines (including two mutilated leaves assigned by M. Lefébvre to the following play, but since shown to belong here) of 'The Shorn Lady,' most usefully supplemented by the above-mentioned Oxyrhynchus fragment, which contains the *dénouement*; and some 340 lines, besides detached fragments, from a play of which the identity is doubtful, but which is probably 'The Samian Woman.'

No doubt justice can hardly be done to the author with specimens so incomplete. Nevertheless M. Lefébvre's discovery places our knowledge of Menander on an altogether new footing. We can now see the plots of four of his plays, two of which, at least, ranked high among his works in the opinion of antiquity; we have the complete text of several scenes, and can judge of his style, his dialogue, and his management of his characters. All the scholars of Europe and America must have been asking themselves the question (though, at this present time of writing, none have published their answers to it), How far does he come up to his ancient reputation? Can we repeat the exclamation of an ancient admirer, 'O Life, O Menander, which of you has copied the other?' Shall we hold, with Cæsar, that Terence is but a Menander halved?

Before the publication of M. Lefébvre's edition, a lecture given by M. Maspero in Paris was taken by some, at any rate in this country, to indicate that we should prepare for disappointment, and that in this instance (contrary to previous experience in regard to recovered classics) modern judgment would not confirm the opinions of antiquity. It is possible that a first reading of the text will in some cases have justified this forecast. The merits of Menander do not leap to the eye, as might have been expected, and the mutilation of the plays greatly detracts from their effect. It is clear (but this was known already) that there was nothing remarkable about the character of his plots. Like the very large majority of the plays of the New Comedy of which we know anything, the plays now extant turn upon the

chance amours, born of intoxication and violence, of free-born youths and maidens, and the complications arising out of the presence of children of unknown or concealed parentage. Not infrequently, it appears, projects of matrimony arise between the two young persons, who are ignorant of one another's identity, and then the previous misadventure comes to the knowledge either of the husband or of one of the parents; complications and misunderstandings ensue; there are intrigues (conducted by the slaves, who play an important part in these plays), concealments, quarrels, reconciliations, until finally the whole web is unravelled, the right persons are paired off as husbands and wives, the children are restored to their proper parents, and all ends happily. There is room for plenty of variety in the details of these domestic dramas, but not for any striking originality of plot. A modern audience, though accustomed to accept the conventions of its own stage and period, may very possibly grow weary of the conventions which were the stock-in-trade of the Attic dramatist; but the Attic audience evidently felt no such tedium. It is, indeed, one of the characteristics of the Athenian drama that the audience was accustomed to have a general knowledge of a play before seeing it. In the case of tragedy, the announcement of the title was generally sufficient to show which of the well-known legends was to be presented. In the case of the New Comedy, the audience knew the elements out of which its entertainment was to be concocted—two or three parents, one or two young couples, two or three slaves, a female of more beauty than character, and a semi-attached child—and had merely to see in what new combinations the old materials would be presented, and how the intrigue would be carried to the inevitable and foreseen solution. Even in the case of the Old Comedy, which is formed much less on a stereotyped plan, the torrent of topical allusions must have kept the audience on terms of comfortable familiarity with their author and his subject.

In respect of his plots, therefore, we had little to expect of Menander, and no cause for disappointment. On the contrary, it will probably be felt that the briskness of the action gives more freshness to the plots of these plays than would be expected from reading a short

analysis of them. Another characteristic is, however, more surprising. The quotations from Menander in antiquity are so numerous, and so many sententious and quasi-proverbial lines are ascribed to him, that one naturally expected to find these plays full of quotable passages and neatly turned epigrams. This, however, is not the case. No doubt there is plenty of room, in the hundred or more comedies which have not yet been restored to us, for all the sententious wisdom recorded in the extant quotations; but it would appear that they did not colour the whole texture of Menander's dialogue to the extent which one had hitherto supposed.

But when these deductions are made, there is still very much left. In particular, the plays give the impression that they have the prime merit of being effective on the stage. It is doing no injustice to Terence to say that the perusal of his comedies does not leave this impression, and that it is an agreeable surprise to see, as may not infrequently be seen at Westminster, that bright and capable acting may nevertheless make them effective. Menander has this air of life about him from the first, and should therefore be still more attractive on the stage. It may be that this bright and bustling comedy of manners and intrigue is better suited by the light touch of the Greek than by his heavier-handed Roman imitator; just as a certain type of modern comedy seems more at home in the French tongue than in our own. The dialogue is brisk and lively, though it has not the verbal jokes and jibes of Aristophanes. The action moves rapidly, the scenes are of no great length, the characters on the stage are continually in motion, and the audience is given little time to cool down and consider the situation in cold blood. The longest scene and the longest single speech occur in the play entitled 'The Arbitration,' and represent an argument as to the rightful ownership of certain objects left with a foundling child, conducted with force and point upon both sides, which no doubt appealed strongly to the forensic tastes of an Athenian audience.

Much that is best and most characteristic in Attic literature, as in Attic art, does not exert its full effect on a modern reader at a first perusal. Its very perfection makes it unobtrusive, and baffles the criticism which is looking for striking and imposing qualities. We cannot

yet, on the evidence that is before us, rank Menander with Sophocles and Plato; but he shares with them something of this excellence of perfect adequacy of style. In some respects he reminds one of the limpid ease of Lysias and Hyperides; but he has a brighter sparkle, a livelier note, than they. It may be that, even if we possessed his best comedies intact, he would not appeal to us so strongly as he did to the ancients. Much of his excellence evidently lay in felicity of diction, in the power to express common thoughts neatly and effectively; and this is an excellence which necessarily is most appreciated by a poet's own compatriots. He has been compared above to Pope; and Pope's peculiar merits can be appreciated by few but Englishmen. But the more we read Menander the more we shall realise the brightness of his comedy, the purity of his style, the interest of his pictures of Greek life and character; and the more we shall be grateful for the happy chance which has at last given us some substantial specimens of his art.

It is time to turn to the second of the two volumes which have made the year 1907 so memorable to classical scholars. Unlike the Menander, this is not the first work of a new editor, but is at least the eleventh for which we have to thank the pair of scholars whose work, in quantity and quality, in exploration and in publication, has no parallel in the whole range of the study of Greek papyri. Several of Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's previous volumes have contained important literary texts. It will be enough to mention the two fragments of the 'Sayings of Jesus,' the epitome of Livy, an ode of Sappho, and the 'Partheneion' of Pindar. But the fifth volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri far surpasses all its predecessors in the length and importance of its literary contents. The whole of it is, in fact, devoted to only five manuscripts. One of these consists of but a single page, which seems to belong to a fourth or fifth century copy of an apocryphal gospel. It contains a denunciation by our Lord of the Pharisees in connexion with their ritual observance of ceremonial purification, to the neglect of inward purity. The passage is interesting, but not especially novel or striking in tone or expression, and the manuscript is too late to give it the authority of antiquity. Two other mss. contain works already well known, one being the latter

half of the 'Symposium' of Plato, the other about the same proportion of the 'Panegyricus' of Isocrates. Papyri of such a length are very rare (though Isocrates has been curiously fortunate in this respect), and the importance for textual criticism of witnesses of so early a date (the second century) is obvious. Fortunately the results are not sensational, and only go to confirm the impression already generally arrived at, that the tradition of the classical texts is substantially sound, and that the best vellum MSS. of the tenth and later centuries are as good as, and often better than, the Egyptian papyri of a thousand years earlier.

There remain two texts, one verse, the other prose; both new, both of substantial extent, both carefully and elaborately edited with the assistance of several of the best scholars in Europe. One contains considerable fragments of the 'Pæans' of Pindar; the other is a new historian, dealing with the affairs of Greece in the early years of the fourth century B.C. The Pindar consists of some forty columns, mostly mutilated, from a fine MS. of the first half of the second century, with a large number of detached fragments. There are in all about 280 perfect or approximately perfect lines, belonging to nine different poems, none of which is complete. It is therefore the largest lyrical papyrus which has yet come to light, with the exception of the Bacchylides MS., which contains about 1200 complete lines. It has the further interest that it brings before us a new class of Pindar's works, namely, his Pæans, or choral odes in honour of Apollo. These poems were written to order, like the epinician odes, and were performed at some festival by a choir representing the city which had commissioned them. Thus, of the nine odes which are more or less preserved in the present MS., two were written for the Thebans, and one each for the Abderites, the Ceans, and the Delphians; the rest are doubtful. The odes for the three last-named peoples are those of which the most substantial portions are preserved, and on which our judgment of Pindar's success in this class of composition must principally rest. *A priori*, there is no reason why his Pæans should not be as great as his epinician odes. Both are of the same class of poetry. In both the poet had to pay compliments to his employer, and to introduce references to the festi-

val at which the ode was performed; and in both cases the most natural device was to weave into the structure of the poem some of the legends connected with the history of the family or the city in question. It must therefore be merely an accident that the newly recovered poems contain nothing that can be matched with the finest of the odes previously extant. No doubt the new poems suffer from their mutilation; but the myths, so far as they occur, are told with less elaboration and animation, and the style throughout lacks the splendour of phrase and the boldness of imagery which we look for in Pindar. One feels that the poet is taking pains to adorn his subject by his avoidance of direct and simple language and by the employment of involved poetical diction, but the effect is laboured and lacks spontaneity. Indeed the most striking passage is one that was previously known through a quotation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, describing an eclipse of the sun. This is now shown to have belonged to the pæan in honour of the Thebans which occurs in the newly-discovered ms., though of these particular lines barely enough is preserved for identification. Next to this, perhaps the most noteworthy verses are those in which the poet praises the modest simplicity of Ceos (the home, be it observed, of his rivals, Simonides and Bacchylides), and quotes the refusal of its legendary hero, Euxantius, to desert his native country for the chance of a splendid destiny elsewhere.

The new history is considerably the longest of the texts, previously unknown, which Messrs Grenfell and Hunt have given to the world. It consists of no less than twenty-one broad columns, each containing some forty long lines of small writing, in a hand (or rather two hands) which may be assigned to the early part of the third century. Seven of the columns are seriously mutilated, and there is considerable doubt as to the true order of the four sections into which the papyrus is divided (or, to speak more accurately, into which its remains have been reconstituted). Nevertheless it is a substantial contribution to history, which will provide ample material for discussion to German scholars for many years. Already three of the most distinguished scholars of Germany—the late Friedrich Blass, always the foremost to assist in the restoration and editing of

mutilated papyrus texts, Edward Meyer, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff—have lent the editors their aid in reconstituting the text and in discussing the many problems arising out of it. In this country Prof. Bury and Mr E. M. Walker have also been of material assistance. The result is that the new text is excellently set out with introduction and commentary, the whole occupying 130 quarto pages, and students are put in the best possible position to learn the character of the work and the questions of interest connected with it.

The difficulties begin with the identity of its author. The papyrus being imperfect at both ends, no title or author's name is preserved. It is a history, on a very large scale, of the years 396–5 B.C. A reference in it shows that the complete work began as far back as 411, but there is nothing to show that it dealt with events before that date. The writer was therefore, probably, a continuer of Thucydides, and he certainly covers the same ground as Xenophon. His method is annalistic, his style is smooth and unemotional, his judgment appears to be sane and impartial, his narrative impresses one as careful and trustworthy. He makes no use (at any rate in the part of his work now extant) of the speeches in which Thucydides took delight, and he is entirely unrhetical throughout. Internal evidence seems to show that he wrote between 387 and 346. It is clear that his work was used, directly or indirectly, by Diodorus.

Three possible authors are named by the editors in their introduction, in which the evidence for and against each is stated with admirable care and impartiality. These are Ephorus, Theopompus, and Cratippus. In favour of Ephorus is the connexion with Diodorus, who is known to have made use of that author, and the lifeless monotony of style, which is in accordance with ancient criticisms of Ephorus. Against him is the fact that his work was a universal history, whereas this apparently began about 411, and is on a much fuller scale than a universal history could well be. Theopompus (in his 'Hellenica') and Cratippus are known to have written continuations of Thucydides, and between these two it appears that the authorship of the new history must lie; for it is hardly likely (though not wholly im-

possible) that it should be the work of an author whose name has not come down to us at all. The decision must be left to the mature consideration of scholars, or rather to the chance of some future discovery. At present the materials do not exist for a decisive verdict, though it is possible that scholars may agree to accept some provisional conclusion. Meyer and Wilamowitz give their vote for Theopompus, Blass and Bury for Cratippus. Of Cratippus it may be said that we know very little, and that little is not inconsistent with his authorship of the present work. Of Theopompus it may be said that we know a good deal, and that what we know is hard to reconcile with the characteristics of the present work. Nothing could be more unlike the vigorous, rhetorical, censorious style of Theopompus, as he is known to us from ancient criticisms and extant quotations, than the even placidity of the author before us. There are a few points adduced by Meyer, in which an identification with Theopompus would suit the evidence; but if Theopompus was indeed the author of the newly discovered work, the only thing to be said is that the Theopompus of the 'Hellenica' was wholly unlike the Theopompus of the more famous 'Philippica.'

In point of contents it cannot be said that the new history is very exciting; but it is not without interest. The main topics are the naval operations of Conon in 396 (probably) and 395, the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia Minor in the latter year, and the outbreak of war between Boeotia and Phocis. Unfortunately no events of great importance or of special picturesqueness fall within this period, and the modern historian who has to deal with the new discovery will be chiefly concerned with the frequent and conspicuous discrepancies between the papyrus and Xenophon. The most novel material provided by the Oxyrhynchus historian is an account of the constitution of Boeotia. His analyses of the currents of political feeling in the various states of Greece, in relation to the supremacy of Sparta and the war between Boeotia and Phocis, are interesting, and leave the impression of fairness of judgment and considerable insight into the political situation. The new historian, in short, makes a quiet claim on our respect, though little on our enthusiasm.

It has seemed right, by reason of their novelty, to devote a considerable amount of space to the remarkable discoveries of the last few months; but they do not suffice by themselves to give an adequate picture of the services which the papyri found in Egypt have done to our knowledge of Greek history and literature. To do this, it is necessary to take account of the more noteworthy among the discoveries of previous years. It is now thirty years—a conventional generation—since the era of modern discovery was opened by the great find of papyri in the Fayum. We may now fairly look back and take stock of what the period has done for us.

The most substantial gains, taking both quantity and quality into account, and arranging them in order of discovery, are these: six orations of Hyperides, more or less complete, the Athenian Constitution of Aristotle, the mimes (or short dramatic idylls) of Herodas, the odes of Bacchylides, and the comedies of Menander; and with these may be reckoned the recovered portion of the dithyrambist Timotheus. Menander has been dealt with already. Of the rest, now that from ten to sixty years have elapsed since the first fervour of their discovery, it may be possible to give an unexaggerated estimate.

In the sphere of pure literature the first place, alike in date and in quality, is taken by Bacchylides. His poems are interesting in themselves, and doubly interesting on account of their place in literary history. The nephew of Simonides, the younger contemporary and rival of Pindar, he belongs to the great age of Greek lyric poetry, and enables us to estimate more fairly the achievements of its great master. No two poets, working on the same subjects and with the same material, could well be more dissimilar than Pindar and Bacchylides. So long as we had Pindar alone we might be excused for thinking that Greek lyric poetry, or at any rate that species of it which dealt with songs in celebration of athletic triumphs, was addicted to forced metaphors, striking phrases, abrupt transitions, and obscurities of idea and expression. But nothing could be more limpidly clear than the twenty odes of Bacchylides which we now possess more or less perfectly; and as Pindar is perhaps the most difficult of classical poets, so Bacchylides is certainly the easiest. His merits are those which

go with easy grace. He is in no sense an original thinker or a great artist in words. He takes the easy and the obvious line of thought and contents himself with expressing it with simplicity and elegance. He has an eye for colour and for picturesque epithets; but Pindar, the fervid of speech, with his tempestuous cataract of song, must have despised the pellucid shallowness of his rival's verse, however attractive its simple intelligibility may have made it to the average athletic patron. To us he will always have value as an example of Hellenic grace; and beginners may well be thankful to have him to introduce them to the study of Greek lyrics before they embark on the difficulties of Pindar.

Very similar is the position occupied by Hyperides in the department of Attic oratory. The six speeches which we now possess, in whole or part, enable us to judge him in comparison with Demosthenes, with Æschines, with Isocrates; and it will hardly be denied that he is the easiest and clearest of Attic orators, not even excepting Lysias. We miss the force, the conviction, the emphasis of Demosthenes; we feel that we are in the presence of a lesser spirit; but we can understand how he excelled as an advocate, and how his special sphere was that of the social *cause célèbre*. He has the simplicity and directness of Lysias, with something more of conscious art. It is a type known to the bars of all countries, and one which implies talent rather than genius; but because he was a Greek his advocacy was literature, and our knowledge of Greek literature is richer because of the discoveries which have restored half a dozen of his speeches to us.

Bacchylides and Hyperides, then, are characteristic representatives of Greek literature, without being supreme masters of it. The two other authors of whom our whole knowledge is due to the papyri are wholly different. Timotheus and Herodas show us the Greek spirit under new aspects; and though their poetical merit may be less than that of Bacchylides, their literary interest to us is greater by reason of the novelty of their styles. Timotheus in particular is a Greek writer of what one might call a typically un-Greek character. Before the fortunate discovery of a papyrus roll in a tomb at Abusir we knew nothing of him except a few phrases, and the fact that he had been attacked by a

comic poet on the score of his innovations in music. Now we possess the greater part of one important composition, which is enough to demonstrate his literary characteristics. Hitherto one has regarded simplicity, restraint, and good taste as inalienable qualities of the Greek genius, at least before the Alexandrian age; but none of these is found in Timotheus. He abounds in forced metaphors, in obscure phrases, in exaggerations, in bad taste; and even if we take into account that his verses form a libretto (since they were written to be set to music), rather than an independent poem, still we must admit that they belong to a low order of literature. We are inclined to sympathise with the ancient critics of his music, since a composer capable of such bad taste in language cannot be trusted to show refinement in music. It is as a curiosity, and not for literary enjoyment, that his poem, the 'Persæ,' will be read in future; and it is certainly remarkable that any one should have wished to have it buried with him. Possibly the choice is to be ascribed to the survivors.

The papyrus of Herodas cannot compare in age and palæographical interest with that of Timotheus, since it belongs to the period from which papyri are most plentiful, the latter part of the first century of our era or the first half of the second; but in its contents it is perhaps the most striking of all the discoveries which we owe to Egypt and its papyri. The eight short poems which it contains, for the most part in good preservation, are studies in realistic *genre*, written in the modification of iambic metre known as scazons, which was especially reserved for the more colloquial or pedestrian types of verse. They deal with subjects of domestic life, some of them of a rather scabrous description. In one we have the visit of an old woman to a young wife whose husband is abroad, the object of the visit being to persuade her to listen to the advances of a desirable lover; in another, the complaint of a mother to a schoolmaster of the escapades of her son, culminating in his drastic corporal punishment; in a third, a visit of two women to the temple of Asclepius in Cos, and a description of the artistic treasures which they behold there; in a fourth, two women enter a cobbler's shop and bargain with him over his wares; in a fifth (unfortunately much mutilated)

we have the narration of a dream of a very inconsequent nature. In none of these poems is any attempt made at an elevated style. They are colloquial and pedestrian in tone; their merit lies in their liveliness and vigour of characterisation. There is nothing like them in extant Greek literature. They form a class by themselves, and the discovery of them consequently widens the borders of our conceptions of the Greek genius. In language they are often difficult of comprehension; but the difficulty arises, not from intentional violence of phraseology, as in the case of Timotheus, but from the use of colloquialisms and allusions with which we are not familiar. There will be some who will rate Herodas as first among the literary gifts to us from the sands of Egypt; and certainly it is the one in which novelty and literary interest are most combined.

To these four authors whom, to all intents and purposes, we know only from the papyri, there remains to be added an old friend with a new face, Aristotle, whom we now see as historian and not only as philosopher. The recovery of the treatise on the 'Constitution of Athens' was perhaps the most sensational of all the discoveries in this field, because the period to which it relates, the history of Athens from Draco to the restoration of the democracy after the rule of the Thirty Tyrants, is precisely that which is most studied at our universities, and consequently that in which new statements, modifying or contradicting established opinions, attract most attention and arouse most controversy. There is a piquancy in finding Aristotle in conflict with Thucydides; and so accustomed have we been to regard the testimony of the latter as unimpeachable, that many persons found it difficult to speak with patience of a treatise containing so many statements irreconcilable with his narrative. Even the authenticity of the treatise, attested though it is more explicitly than any other work attributed to Aristotle, was questioned at first and is still sometimes reluctantly admitted. But the first heat of controversy has cooled down, and some results emerge with clearness. The first is perhaps too drastically expressed in the dictum of Jowett (based upon allusions in the 'Politics,' before the discovery of the 'Constitution of Athens'), that 'Aristotle was no his-

torian'; but it is at least clear that he made no independent research into historical records, and was content to take history from the current chronicles of his day. Thucydides may be left undethroned on his pedestal; but it is interesting to know that his authority was so far from being paramount in the generations following his own that a version of Athenian history, very different in many points of detail and chronology, was current in the chronicles and fashionable histories. Secondly, in the second part of the treatise, we have an unrivalled first-hand account of the civil organisation of Athens in the fourth century—of its magistrates and its law-courts, and of the manner in which they were selected and conducted their business. Many items of this description were previously known, having filtered down to us through grammarians and lexicographers; but now we have the source of all these fragments restored to us in practical completeness. For all this we are indebted to some unknown resident in Upper Egypt about 100 A.D., who was at the pains to have Aristotle's treatise translated, not in formal book-hand, but in the ordinary running handwriting of everyday life, on the back of a bailiff's record of daily labour on his master's farm.

The six authors who have now been named and briefly described cover six different branches of Greek literature—history, oratory, lyric, dithyramb, mime, and comedy—and constitute a very considerable addition to the intellectual wealth of the world; but they are far from exhausting our indebtedness to the papyri. Next to them, as being either smaller in bulk or inferior in interest, may be placed the *Pæans* of Pindar (which have been mentioned above), the new historian, and the commentary of Didymus on four of the public speeches of Demosthenes, now at Berlin, which is of value for the evidence it brings to bear on the genuineness of the speeches in question, and for its extensive citations from the annals of Philochorus and other now lost historians. Those who are interested in the history of Greek medicine may add to this list the long medical treatise in the British Museum, which embodies large extracts from a work of the Aristotelian school, the '*Iatrica*' of Menon; but even those who are interested in philosophy can hardly say much for the long and beautifully written

commentary on the 'Theætetus' of Plato, now in the Berlin Museum.

These are the larger products of the explorer's spade in Egypt; and it is no secret that they will be increased before long (notably in regard to Euripides), when Messrs Grenfell and Hunt are able to make further progress with their vast accumulation of materials. But discoveries on such a scale are the rare prizes of papyrus-hunting. Far more commonly the manuscripts that are brought to light are fragments, often more tantalising than instructive, but often, too, containing substantial portions of literature which scholars welcome with avidity. In the sphere of theology we have had the two fragments of 'Sayings of Jesus' from Oxyrhynchus, an important manuscript of a large part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and smaller portions of both Old and New Testament; while at Berlin there is (as yet unpublished) a papyrus containing the greater part of the book of Genesis, which is said to be of the fourth century. In the sphere of literature the list is too long to enumerate in full. Papyri (or vellum fragments found with them) have given us several stanzas of Sappho, not unworthy to rank with those which we already regard as among the most living words of Greek literature; some ninety lines of Alcman, the largest continuous passage now extant from his poetry; an ode of Corinna, Pindar's predecessor and preceptress; a festival song (sung by maidens) of Pindar himself, in a simpler style than his epinician Odes or his Pæans; about 120 lines of the 'Antiope' of Euripides, and a characteristic speech from his 'Cretans'; a small portion of the celebrated speech of Antiphon in defence of his own life; an anonymous erotic rhapsody (in subject similar to the second idyll of Theocritus) in irregular verse or rhythmical prose; a scene from a comedy in which an Oriental king is introduced, speaking a non-Greek tongue, which recalls the Triballian deity in Aristophanes, or the Carthaginian in the 'Pœnulus' of Plautus; and many other pieces which serve at least to show us how much Greek literature was extant in Egypt as late as the third, fourth, or even fifth century, which has since perished by the way. Incidentally they may indicate to us that it is hardly safe to assume, as was often done not long ago, that Byzantine commentators

knew most of the works (now lost) from which they quote only through the medium of extracts and anthologies.

Space will allow of but a brief mention of another large class of literary papyri, those, namely, which contain texts already known to us. We have, literally, hundreds of papyri of Homer, large and small, of which the earliest (third century B.C.) testify to the unsettled state of the text at that date, and the inclusion in it of many lines which subsequently ceased to appear in the received editions; one large ms. of Hesiod, and several smaller; of Æschylus, nothing certain; of Sophocles, not much more; of Euripides, much less than might have been expected; not very much of Aristophanes; hardly anything of Herodotus; an early and valuable fragment of Thucydides; several fairly extensive portions of Xenophon; the greater part of the 'Symposium' of Plato, and very early fragments of the 'Phædo' and 'Laches,' with several smaller scraps; three large mss. of Isocrates; many portions of Demosthenes, notably two vellum leaves of the 'De Falsa Legatione,' and nearly the whole of one of the Epistles. Manuscripts such as these, with others of less note, have an importance which comes from their age. They are from 700 to 1500 years earlier than the manuscripts on which our knowledge of the Greek classics was previously based; and if they do not materially alter our views as to their text, this is itself a fact of the very highest importance. We know now, on the evidence of the papyri, that the vellum mss. of the tenth and subsequent centuries not only contain the same text, to all intents, as the much earlier papyri, but contain it generally in a sounder form; for the vellum mss. represent the tradition of the libraries, while the papyri for the most part have been gathered from the rubbish-heaps of provincial towns and villages in Upper Egypt. They serve also to curb the rashness of conjectural emenders. Here and there, no doubt, the conjectures of modern scholars are justified; it would be disheartening if it were not so; but these are invariably corrections which involve but little change. If a passage is seriously corrupt (and that such corruptions exist, and go back to very early dates, the papyri themselves demonstrate), the chances are largely against a modern scholar healing it successfully; not because his scholar-

ship is deficient, but because the possibilities are numerous and the odds are against his finding the same form of words as the ancient author. As against this weakening of our faith in the healing powers of scholarship may be set the very comforting assurance that the great classics do not stand in so much need of healing as has sometimes been supposed.

By far the largest class of papyri remains to be mentioned, and can be mentioned but briefly. These are the non-literary documents. While the literary texts can be reckoned by hundreds, these must be reckoned by thousands. Many of them are in excellent condition; for whereas a literary manuscript seldom reached the rubbish-heaps—from which most of our stores of papyri are derived—except in a damaged state, quantities of private and business documents were thrown away, when they were no longer needed, in a perfectly sound condition, and have so been preserved by the exceptionally dry soil of Egypt. In character they are of most various kinds. Imperial rescripts, official orders, petitions to magistrates, census and revenue rolls, tax-receipts, land registers, sales, leases, loans, contracts of marriage and divorce, athletic and musical diplomas, accounts, private letters, schoolboys' exercises—all are represented in the accumulations which are pouring from Egypt into the libraries and museums of Europe and America. In period they cover a range of a full thousand years. Within the last few months the range has been extended in both directions—backward to the year 311 B.C., in the reign of the first Ptolemy, forward to about A.D. 725, nearly a century after the establishment of Arab rule in Egypt, a period from which we now have a large and very interesting group of documents. In all this mass of material there is ample scope for historians, economists, jurists, philologists, palæographers. It is not work that can much impress or affect the ordinary reader; but in the sphere of constructive scholarship no better work has been done during the past generation than that of the men who have interpreted and digested these isolated and unfamiliar details, and have built up out of them the internal history of Egypt under its Greek, its Roman, its Byzantine, and its Arabian rulers. It is work analogous to that which has been done by means of inscriptions

for the internal history of the Roman Empire; and if it covers less ground, the powers needed for its execution have not been less. In this department of learning the names of Wilcken, of Grenfell and Hunt, of Mahaffy and Smyly, deserve special mention; but many more might be added—Wessely, Vitelli, Schubart, Viereck, Gradenwitz, Mitteis, Reinach, Jouguet, Nicole, Otto, Preisigke, 'fortisque Gyas, fortisque Cloanthus.'

So much for the past. What of the future? The answer is simple. The experience of the last few months has shown us that the treasures of Egypt are not exhausted. If a casual scratching in a paltry village can give us back Menander, and a search for an ancient Egyptian interment can, as a by-product, reveal a Greek soldier buried with a roll of Timotheus, why should not similar chances give us Sappho, Simonides, Stesichorus, Archilochus, Cratinus, Agathon, and others for whom our mouths water, or, like Herodas, almost unknown writers of unsuspected interest? We know that the works of most or all of these were in existence during the period covered by the papyri; and for the rest we depend upon fortune. There are still many rubbish-heaps left in Egypt, and it is from them—the mounds which surround the sites of ancient towns and villages—that most of the papyri (though not the most perfect) have come. There must still be cemeteries containing mummy-cases made out of masses of papyrus compacted together and covered with clay, like those of Gurob and Hibeh. There may still be mummified crocodiles to be found, stuffed and wrapped round with papyrus rolls, like those of Tebtunis. There may still, occasionally, be found pots containing manuscripts, like those which produced the Menander or the papyri from the Serapeum of Thebes; or burials in which a manuscript has been laid with the dead man, like the Timotheus at Abusir, or the Hyperides ms. obtained by Bankes and Arden near Thebes. But these things lie upon the knees of the gods. It is for scholars at home to support and facilitate the work of those who go out to search, and to prepare themselves and their posterity to deal with the accessions which they bring to that immortal Greek literature upon which our civilisation is based.

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Art. IV.—COVENTRY PATMORE.

1. *Poems*. By Coventry Patmore. With an Introduction by Basil Champneys. London : Bell, 1906.
2. *Religio Poetae, etc.* By the same. London : Bell, 1893. (New edition, 1907.)
3. *Principle in Art, etc.* By the same. London : Bell, 1889. (New edition, 1907.)
4. *The Rod, the Root, and the Flower*. By the same. London : Bell, 1895. (New edition, 1907.)
5. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*. By Basil Champneys. Two vols. London : Bell, 1901.
6. *Coventry Patmore*. By Edmund Gosse. London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.

THE austere figure of Coventry Patmore stands strangely apart from the other poets of the Victorian age. He owed next to nothing to his predecessors, and he has scarcely at all affected the poetry of later days. He stalked in his own narrow field, casting hardly more than an indifferent glance at the work of his contemporaries. His poetry has an individuality so deep and so curious that its appeal must always be as dumb to most people as it is intense to a few. He raised a new flower, unique in its bold shape and colour, but he contrived to spread round it a desert which effectually deters the casual adventurer. And yet this grim recluse, who appears to stamp so summarily upon any conciliatory overture from the world at large, stands almost alone in literature for the interpretation and the defence of one of the most normal and least recondite elements of human life.

From the beginning of art the deepest-seated of man's passions has been celebrated in every aspect save one, that one being precisely the aspect which the world agrees, on the whole, to consider the most estimable and the most conducive to its welfare. If it is strange that marriage, for all its admitted claim upon the world's gratitude, should have been found thus destitute of lyrical quality, it is infinitely more of a paradox that the one voice raised in real fervour on its behalf should give the effect of keeping the majority scornfully at bay. That a passion which is strictly 'honourable' in its intentions, whose domesticity is not a mere fortunate accident, but

its very essence, is possible material for poetry of the most rapturous kind, Patmore, at any rate, has abundantly proved. He knew nothing of the lawless old instinct in the human breast which, even in submitting to conventional bonds, feels that the real brilliance of love is a thing quite apart from them.

In 'Maud,' for example, at the great moment of climax, the language might equally well be that of a Launcelot. The fact that it is a virtuous passion in no way colours the expression of it; and to have stopped in the full flight of song in order to emphasise it would have been to strike a false note. To Patmore, on the other hand, the bond itself is the very crown and glory of the whole theme. It is not a mere compromise struck between the world on one side, and the strength of man's passions on the other, with a view to securing some measure of peace and order, but an original and eternal disposition of nature. Indeed, with his scornful figure before us, we shall scarcely be in danger of thinking that this attitude was due to any timid conventionality on his part; such an idea shrivels up at the first sound of his harsh, jarring laugh. The opinion of the world was to him rather a thing made to be scoffed at as such. He loved to be alone against the universe; and, if in his cardinal doctrine he is thus found upon the conventional side, it is the strongest possible proof of the ardour of his conviction. Still this ardour has so little in common with the general respect given to honourable love that, in spite of the everyday nature of his theme, his poetry is profoundly esoteric. He is the one writer who has found his chief source of inspiration in this most familiar of life's phases; and yet the final result is that his appeal is limited, his air forbidding, his doctrine remote and inaccessible.

The clue to this paradox could doubtless be disentangled in Patmore's writings taken alone; for, though few, they represent every link in his development. But the two biographies which have appeared since his death illuminate the whole process. Mr Basil Champneys brought together a large body of material, and produced an excellent portrait of Patmore and his inner circle. Mr Gosse, working upon this, developed the critical side further than was possible for Mr Champneys, and added, from his own long acquaintance with Patmore, a vivid

and fascinating sketch of the poet's personality. The two together form a complete picture of one of the strangest and most interesting figures in our literature.

Coventry Patmore, from the beginning of his life to the end, through all changes of faith and fortune, was dominated by one central idea—the relation of man to woman and of woman to man. The whole character of his mind was implied in the view which he took of the mutual attitude of the sexes. It coloured every line that he wrote; it directed every step of his intellectual progress; it was the governing standard to which everything else was referred. It was an instinct in the first place, but it gradually became far more than that. Upon it was built an elaborately reasoned fabric, in which was included the whole significance of art and nature and religion. It grew to be the universal symbol, the only key to all the intricacies of life. The fact that this guiding principle never failed him, that it continued to bear the accumulating weight which he threw upon it, sufficiently proves the robust purity and vigour which he brought to it. The bedrock of his nature was so stable and so normal that the most determined exaggerations could be erected on it without danger. At the bottom of all his theories there was a hard virility whose force was never relaxed; it was equally strong in his early days, when his poetry was held by the sterner sort of critics to touch the limit of all that was sentimental and insipid, and in his later, when he appeared to many to wander adrift in a cloud of exotic and over-strained mysticism. It is this fundamental soundness which gives coherence to all his work, and which leads us step by step, in a logical progression, from the morning brightness of the 'Angel in the House' to the secluded fervours of the 'Unknown Eros.'

Patmore's earlier poetry, though, like everything else that he said or did, in reality quite unrelated to his period and environment, accidentally corresponded with a taste of the time. 'The Angel in the House,' by the fact that it was anecdotic and domestic, won a large audience in the fifties—an audience which those very qualities have now lost for it. The parochial felicities, the tea and talk, the ingenuous croquet of the mid-century, were all akin in sentiment to the narrative parts of the poem. The

romance of Felix and Honoria was so pre-eminently 'nice' in tone that it won its way to many thousands of blameless hearts, who could understand the innocence of the story, if not the far more characteristic interludes in which Patmore expounds his theory of love. There are still, no doubt, hearts as blameless, but they are less parochial now, even as croquet is less ingenuous: the fashion in innocence has changed. Crinolines and pork-pie hats appeal now for a different reason; and it might be expected that the 'Angel' would by this time have at any rate the charm of quaintness. But this, curiously enough, in spite of the courageous realism of the picture, it somehow contrives to miss. Perhaps the reason is that Patmore himself was really very far from being a mild and amiable young man, handing bread-and-butter at tea on the lawn, such as he portrays. He had a theory of what true love should be; and tea on the lawn was the appropriate setting for it. But he was not nearly enough the child of his age to love the setting for its own sake; indeed, he would have been exceedingly out of place in it himself. He describes the orderly life of Sarum Close from the outside; and his description is too deeply tinged with his own peculiarities—his obscurity, his strained use of words, his mixture of verbosity and extreme compression—to be generally typical.

Grown weary with a week's exile
 From those fair friends, I rode to see
 The church-restorings; lounged awhile,
 And met the Dean; was ask'd to tea,
 And found their cousin, Frederick Graham,
 At Honor's side. Was I concern'd,
 If, when she sang, his colour came,
 That mine, as with a buffet, burn'd?
 A man to please a girl! thought I,
 Retorting his forc'd smiles, the shrouds
 Of wrath, so hid as she was by,
 Sweet moon between her lighted clouds!'

The warm love and romance which underlay that idyllic life Patmore knew to its remotest depth; but its manners, its amusements, its very language were entirely alien to him. He could not prevent an occasional infusion of his own more pungent liquors into that milky cup.

The result is satisfactory from neither point of view; the narrative is too flat, or it is too rugged. The characterisation is conventional, the plot a mere shadow. Patmore's outlook had no breadth; nor had he, save in one connexion, to be indicated presently, any power of placing himself outside his own point of view. His gift was purely lyrical and individual.

But, though Patmore perhaps would not have allowed as much, the essential part of the 'Angel in the House' is not the story at all, but the 'preludes' which are prefixed to the cantos of the poem, two or three to each, in which he develops his own proper theme through endless dainty and intricate modulations. They form together what is in one way the most singular series of love-lyrics in the language. No one but Patmore, it may safely be said, has written upon the subject with such depth of mystical conviction, and yet with such airy and unclouded gaiety. The lightness and brightness of the tone, far from being a sign of unreality, is the expression of a peculiar point of view, held with impassioned earnestness by an exceptionally forcible nature. 'The cruel madness of love,' which the hero of 'Maud' prayed to escape, would have been to Patmore a totally meaningless phrase. The course of romance might run smoothly or roughly; but, rough or smooth, it is a blissful vision, an 'aura of delight,' which no uncertainty or even jealousy can wholly mar. The passion which is so unselfish that it can take a positive pride in resigning its claim, not unjustly arouses some suspicion of its reality; and Patmore would even have us believe that there is something delicious in the uncertainty of the lover as he goes to put his fate to the touch. The pangs and fevers are indeed described; but their bitterness is swallowed up in the pervading sunshine which, for accepted and rejected alike, clings to the thought and the presence of woman. A part of this peculiarity is perhaps the lack, noticeable in all Patmore's poetry, of the sense of physical beauty, except indeed of the beauty of the natural world. His power of touching off, in sharp outline, some exquisite glimpse of tree or flower, is admirable:

'The leaves, all stirring, mimick'd well
A neighbouring rush of rivers cold,

And, as the sun or shadow fell,
 So these were green and those were gold ;
 In dim recesses hyacinths droop'd,
 And breadths of primrose lit the air,
 Which, wandering through the woodland, stoop'd
 And gather'd perfumes here and there.'

But this exactitude of vision seems to become blurred just where it might be expected to be more intense. In the later poem of 'Amelia' we are told that

'to look on her moved less the mind
 To say "How beauteous!" than "How good and kind!"'

The sentiment is deeply characteristic. The beloved object moves in a rosy mist of virtues, fresh with purity mild with kindness, sparkling with modest joy. But we see her no more clearly than that; nor, it seems, does the poet. The effect upon the reader is to make the whole emotion appear to be generalised—not concentrated upon one glowing point, but a kind of universal admiration, the less interesting for being so all-embracing. Patmore, the self-confident individualist, the arrogant, the masterful, seems here to be not quite individualist enough. And yet it is impossible to say that the emotion is indefinite or languid. On the contrary, it revels in minute discriminations, and is never betrayed by its ingenuity into falling below the pitch of rapturous ecstasy.

The poet of the 'Angel in the House' was saved from these penalties of humanity partly by an invincible self-confidence, partly by a very noble purity, and partly too by a capacity for viewing the drama of human love to some extent from outside. In married love he saw not only the highest but the only expression of perfect felicity attainable by man. Marriage, as he understood the word—the 'mutual free contract'—absorbed the whole sum of happiness; none was possible outside. At the same time his dominating masculinity could conceive of no such condition as mere sterile solitude. Somewhere, sooner or later, there must be some angel of grace and virtue for a man, if he keeps his eye clear, to conquer and to worship. There could thus be no irreparable despair, no blinding sense that the significance of the world is destroyed by the disaster of a single moment.

Then comes another and more important point. The emotion of these poems differs from the hungry, jealous fever of other natures for the reason that this poet, so complex in his simplicity, can see through the eyes of the woman even more clearly than through his own; or, if not quite that, at least that the whole and absolute beauty of the drama appeals to him even more strongly than its special relation to himself. The exquisite and joyful completeness of a perfect union—the idea of this exists for him side by side with the thought of the individual happiness, and it is even the more vivid of the two. Moreover, the woman's relation to this central miracle is fully as absorbing as the man's. Indeed her more ethereal, more instinctive, more impressionable nature, as he regards it, makes her share by so much the subtler and the finer. In such poems as 'The Chace' and 'The Changed Allegiance,' the progress of a woman's love is traced with a daring firmness of touch which, directed by a sensibility one hair's breadth less perfect, might well have overshot the limit of fatuity. It is perilous, to say the least of it, for a man to be so acutely alive to the blessing of a fortunate romance from the woman's point of view. But Patmore had, in this one and only instance, the power of detachment. The whole picture, exceeding and including the two individual aspects, stood out clearly before him; so clearly that its steady light became in later years the one all-explaining symbol. In the 'Angel in the House' its full meaning was not yet so exhaustively explored, nor the picture so suffused with mysticism. The idea is there, but it is still in its first simplicity—the idea of love, not as a leaping flame, obscuring the rest of life for a moment and then dying down as life resumes its course, but as a steady and pervading glow, in whose warmth alone the world has meaning and coherence.

This view of the subject, as translated by Patmore into practice, becomes, it must be confessed, somewhat less genial than might be supposed. His homage to the idea of married perfection took the shape of an autocratic rule over the diviner sex, as primitive as that of Milton himself. Patmore was a born tyrant, but his severity was not really at variance with his doctrine. The essence of his theory was that woman is receptive and passive,

man impressive and active; and if, in actual life, the result of so many finely-spun delicacies seemed about as free from subtlety as the attitude of the traditional Red Indian to his spouse, that at any rate proved their sound freedom from sentimentality. He so delighted in the beauty of the woman's part that he somewhat over-acted the man's; but that was a better tribute to womanhood than to worship at her feet and forget to play his own part at all, like a troubadour contemplating his mistress's perfections at a careful distance. Moreover, it is better to be a tyrant than to patronise, and a great deal better to be treated like a squaw than to endure the copious draughts of condescension that Ida and Guinevere, for example, had to swallow. But the resemblance between Patmore and Milton in this respect is curious; for Milton too, though a slave-driver where Patmore was at most an autocrat, had the rare inspiration of celebrating nuptial love. It would seem, after all, that only by the Red Indian and the Tartar can the full dignity of marriage be rightly appreciated.

When all is said, the fact remains that the 'Angel in the House,' in spite of the 'preludes,' is by no means widely known or read. The triviality of the narrative portions is no doubt partly to blame; they might have dropped off and left the rest, but they seem in fact to have carried the rest with them. Then, too, Patmore's very peculiar style, always somewhat angular and knotted, though rich in concentrated gleams of colour, presents difficulties at the outset. It is a new language that has to be learnt; and, furthermore, it is in these earlier poems unequally yoked with a tame and monotonous metre—the 'long measure'—which is not even treated stanzaically, but presents to the eye a series of dull-looking columns of verse.

Most of all, it is the sentiment which fails somehow to appeal. If, at first sight, it has the appearance of being a rather sugary exaggeration of the homeliest kind of emotion, it proves on a closer study to be an intricate development of an emotion both intangible and unfamiliar. It is deeply felt, and yet is not simply personal. It is preoccupied with the thought, not indeed of its own beauty—for that would effectually destroy its value—but of the whole treasure of poetry which permeates the

world when the spring sun shines and the sluggish blood begins to freshen. Behind the warm, direct impulse, which for most people usurps the whole field, there lurks a sense of satisfaction, of inviolable content, which refuses to be caught into the narrowing channel of one single fulfilment. That is enough, as jealous human beings are constituted, to give the emotion—and the more so that it is obviously so real—a sense of remoteness. And yet there are a few moments when it approaches very close, when something so intimately true as to be inexpressible appears to slip into words without an effort. Here is one :

‘ Not in the crises of events,
Of compass’d hopes, or fears fulfill’d,
Or acts of gravest consequence,
Are life’s delight and depth reveal’d.
The day of days was not the day;
That went before, or was postponed;
The night Death took our lamp away
Was not the night on which we groan’d.
I drew my bride, beneath the moon,
Across my threshold; happy hour!
But, ah, the walk that afternoon
We saw the water-flags in flower!’

But this absolutely simple note is rare. The real heart of the poem keeps aloof, uttering a deceptively familiar strain, which yet, as we listen closely, becomes unexpected and evasive. Popular it can hardly be, but, in virtue of its utter originality and of a kind of fresh, unearthly brightness, it cannot surely be forgotten.

‘The Victories of Love,’ a second series of narrative poems, designed as a continuation of the first, has all the weaknesses of the ‘Angel,’ and few of its beauties. The ‘preludes’ disappear; and the story is told by means of letters exchanged between the various characters, written in octosyllabic couplets. Patmore was far too destitute of the power of characterisation to be successful in such a form. He would not himself allow that his gift was not for sustained flights of song, but for short and lyrical outbursts. He was always planning to reveal his constantly expanding theory of love in long, connected poems; but, as a matter of fact, the set of his genius was

exactly in the opposite direction. He was entirely without the power of writing steadily and regularly. He waited on the impulse, and was content to wait for years, if necessary, before it came. The germ of his subject would lie in his mind, imperceptibly growing; but, until the right moment came, he would do nothing, and such delay he in no way regarded as time lost. 'I believe,' he wrote, 'that no amount of idleness is wrong in a poet. Idleness is the growing time of his harvest; and the upcome of a year can be reaped in one fine day.' That is not the spirit in which the epic of love, such as he designed to write, was likely to be written. Patmore's vein of poetry was narrow, and it dipped deeply into the roots of his nature; it became increasingly difficult to bring the authentic material to the light. Meanwhile he had no sort of inclination to produce poetry which did not come from the depth. Only one subject interested him, the subject whose simple aspect was embodied in the 'Angel in the House'; and, until its more mysterious significations became clear to him, there was nothing else of which he cared to write. Fifteen years intervened between the publication of the 'Victories of Love' and the appearance of 'The Unknown Eros' in 1877.

His first wife, the calm and beautiful woman whose portrait was drawn both by Millais and by Browning, died in 1862; and the loss proved to be a turning-point in Patmore's intellectual life. His mystical tendency, hitherto somewhat held in check, began to assert itself more and more strongly. He had exhausted, so to speak, the simple value of his theme; but it remained as much as ever the central and vital fact of life, and in the light of mysticism its range and power steadily widened. His inclination towards the Roman Catholic Church would apparently have shown itself earlier, but for the influence of his Protestant wife. Two years after her death he spent a winter in Rome, met there the lady who became his second wife, and at length entered the communion to which she already belonged.

Patmore's Catholicism was a strange mixture of defiance and submission. It was the combined expression of the desire which an exceptionally strong nature feels to abandon itself unreservedly somewhere, and the equally strong determination to do so at its own discre-

tion and at its own time and place. Thus he was never tired of deriding the priesthood, and of talking lightly of the Pope as an 'amiable old gentleman'; he delighted in scattering such proofs of his independence, and also, it may be said, in puzzling and scandalising his milder brethren. It is impossible not to quote the immortal dialogue, recorded by Mr Champneys ('Life,' ii, 35), between Patmore and an enthusiastic, unsuspecting visitor at his house:

'V. Weren't you surprised, Mr Patmore, to hear of — Church being burnt? I can't imagine how it could have happened.

'P. I know very well how it happened.

'V. Oh, I do so wish you'd tell me how.

'P. The priests burnt it.

'V. Why, what on earth should they have done that for?

'P. To get the insurance money.

'(A dead pause. Then:)

'V. Weren't you sorry to hear that Father — was dead?

'P. No, I was very glad.'

But, apart from this characteristic ferocity, with its crackling, sardonic laughter not far beneath, Patmore found in the Roman Catholic Church what was to him the one channel into which his deepest beliefs could flow unchecked. The transcendental colours through which he already viewed the relation of the sexes were discovered by him to interpret yet profounder mysteries. Whether at times he unconsciously himself enlarged the channel in order to admit the stream is not a question that need be considered here. It may, however, be noted that the word 'catholic,' as he used it, came finally to express a very general approbation indeed. When he declared that the Venus of Milo was 'at least as catholic' as the Sistine Madonna, it was difficult to see what more he meant than that he liked it as well. Anyhow, from the moment Patmore entered the Roman Catholic Church, it is clear that all his thought, all the material for poetry which still lay in his mind, became coloured through and through with an ardent mysticism, in which he gradually passed farther and farther away from the common world, though, strange to say, with an intensity of passion which

grew the more concentrated as its object changed from natural to esoteric and symbolical. Beyond every fact, and most of all beyond the great fact of human love, he saw a lengthening vista of spiritual ideas of which that fact was the symbol; and this range of ideas gained in reality as it opened out before him. At length the whole significance of the immediate world seemed to consist in this aspect of it; while of the thing symbolised he wrote with a torrent of vehemence which had never found its way into his earlier work.

But this development proceeded slowly; and, until it was complete, he would write nothing. It was in this interval that another and at first sight a very contradictory side of his character found its scope. His second wife brought him a substantial fortune, so that it became possible for him to give up the irksome post in the British Museum which he had held for nineteen years. He then bought a property of some hundreds of acres in Sussex, planted it, laid it out, built a house, and brought the whole estate to such prosperity in eight years that he finally sold it at a handsome profit. There is one other equally imperious and fastidious poet, Rossetti, who might conceivably have done the same kind of thing, with his trained financier's eye, as Mr Mackail has put it, for anything that had money in it. But the strain of common-sense in Rossetti was very strongly marked, whereas every paradox and prejudice of Patmore's was part of his daily life. To doubt that all his own surroundings and his own possessions were of the highest perfection attainable by man—to deny that his house was the exact ideal of what a house should be, or that the blackcap (so we read), which sang in his garden was 'a chorus of *five or six* nightingales'—seemed to Patmore to be pure perversity, probably due to interested motives on the part of the doubter. On the other hand, to believe that the country and nation at large were not going headlong to the dogs was to Patmore merely the too familiar evidence of the blindness with which a maddened people will rush violently down to their own destruction.

These were hardly the peculiarities of a practical man of business; but Patmore's native efficiency was stronger even than his prejudices. He slashed about him, quarrelled with most of his friends, laughed bitterly at the thought

of himself (and this was a picture that he really loved) standing alone in the world, feared, misunderstood, and abused. But this attitude, much too instinctive to be called a pose, disappeared when there was a definite piece of work to be attacked and successfully carried through. When he produced a new book, he thoroughly enjoyed the thought that the reviewers would spit at it and stamp on it, and exclaim (as he predicted) 'Ugh, ugh! the horrid thing; it's alive!' and he was even a little chagrined when, after all, it would be received with respectful appreciation. But, when necessary, he could measure difficulties and forecast results more soberly than this. His ferocity does not appear to have blasted the Library Department of the British Museum during the years of his work there, or to have hindered the management of his Sussex estate. Such activities as these his masterful mind could grasp effectively, without that exaggeration of theory to which he yielded in more speculative regions.

That exaggeration, for instance, ran riot in his literary and artistic criticisms, of which from first to last he contributed a large number to various periodicals. Some of these he reprinted, in later years, in a little book called 'Principle in Art,' clear and forcible in exposition, and full of suggestive utterances, but also profoundly dogmatic and dictatorial. Architecture was a special study of his, and his knowledge of it was considerable; but his tone in writing of this, as of other arts, almost suggests that it is governed by laws as unquestionable as those which guide the courses of the stars, and with as little relation to the preferences of men. Patmore, fantastic and eclectic as he was in habit of mind, none the less felt no doubt that there was an eternal standard in such matters, and accounted for his own most far-fetched likes and dislikes as though they were part of an immutable scheme. As quickly and easily as his blackcap became a chorus of nightingales, any opinion or preference of his own became sanctioned, and indeed dictated, by the whole weight of natural and moral law.

By a process which, though it took longer, may to some seem almost as arbitrary as this, the 'Angel in the House' of his early years became the 'Unknown Eros' of his later life. His tendency towards mysticism, growing steadily stronger, carried him into the Roman Catholic

Church; but he did not leave behind him that pre-occupation with the love of woman and man with which he had started. It could not be doubtful that he would find in this new region of thought a place for the cardinal interest of his life; and, Patmore being what he was, it was equally certain that its place there would prove to be the crowning perfection of what had before seemed to be perfect already. To find the last beauty of human love in its aspect as a symbol of the Divine, and to believe that only in the Church to which he now belonged was this aspect to be rightly apprehended—it will seem to some that in a mind like Patmore's these were foregone conclusions, however little he may have suspected it himself. He was not often at a loss in discovering triumphant proofs, hitherto unguessed at, that what he had held as opinions were in fact overmastering and incontrovertible truths; and, if it sometimes seemed to be not so much a matter of following the light as of planting the light where he chose it to be, the question here at any rate is not of that, but simply of the bearing of it all upon his poetry. That his poetry grew in richness with the change, even while its manner became infinitely more austere, will hardly be denied.

It is not quite clear when Patmore began the study of the great Spanish mystics of the seventeenth century; but it seems that his own line of thought had tended in their direction before he actually found in them its confirmation. At any rate, when he at last began to read the works of St John of the Cross, their strange, luxuriant beauty thenceforward profoundly affected him. The ardent eroticism which, its natural satisfaction being denied, thought to find in the language of the 'Song of Solomon' a sanction for lavishing itself in transcendental raptures, was indeed worlds away from the imperious virility of the nineteenth century poet. But the incongruity did not trouble Patmore. He found in the passionate, overwrought pages of the Spaniard a vision of the ecstatic union of the human soul with the Divine Presence, which offered such daring analogies with earthly passion as must inevitably seem unintelligible, not to say repellent, to the average human being. To Patmore, however, although his own mysticism was so securely grounded upon natural emotion, the lack of any such foundation

in the writers to whom he was now turning for guidance did not vitiate the doctrine which they taught. It must indeed seem a further tribute to the amazing purity of his own ideal that he could feel these disembodied passions to be entirely ethereal in origin. For the ordinary mortal, it must make all the difference whether or no they spring from a robust and natural soil, such as that on which Patmore's feet were firmly planted. The great beauty of such poems as 'Sponsa Dei,' and the 'Child's Purchase' might even have a certain taint if they had not been preceded by the poems of his youth.

However that may be, there is certainly no sickliness in the stately irregular odes in which Patmore so fearlessly traces the analogy between human and divine love, or rather, he would have said, their identity. He seems in them to have mastered the secret of uniting the most honied sweetness with extreme severity of line. The metre he adopted—iambic lines of unequal length, with rhymes recurring at irregular intervals—is not in itself a very good one, for it depends for its whole effect upon the taste and ear of the writer; unskilfully used, it becomes ragged and shapeless at once. But in the right hands it is of course capable of much finer effects than the too facile numbers he had used before. Patmore handled it with great skill, and made fine use of the endless modulations which become possible through such varied choice in the disposition of rhymes and length of line. In his earlier work his peculiar and highly mannered diction, even though it was there less marked, had often seemed too heavily weighted for his material; but in the longer odes, with their more dignified metre and more abstruse subjects, it has a singular fitness—the stiff-robed angular beauty of some lean effigy of medieval bishop or saint. With all this, and somehow without sacrificing the effect of severity, Patmore contrived to unite a strain of sweetness as voluptuous as that of Crashaw. The whole of 'The Child's Purchase' is an instance of this—that wonderful burning prelude to odes which were never written. Here is another from a less recondite poem, 'The Day after To-morrow':

'Tell her I come,
And let her heart be still'd.

One day's controlled hope, and then one more,
 And on the third our lives shall be fulfill'd!
 Yet all has been before:
 Palm placed in palm, twin smiles, and words astray.
 What other should we say?
 But shall I not, with ne'er a sign, perceive,
 Whilst her sweet hands I hold,
 The myriad threads and meshes manifold
 Which Love shall round her weave:
 The pulse in that vein making alien pause
 And varying beats from this;
 Down each long finger felt, a differing strand
 Of silvery welcome bland;
 And in her breezy palm
 And silken wrist,
 Beneath the touch of my like numerous bliss
 Complexly kiss'd,
 A diverse and distinguishable calm?'

The essential quality of these poems, the quality which singles them out among poetry, and gives them their curiously unmistakable ring, is perhaps this union of severity—a certain noble gauntness—with a sensuousness that lavishes itself in such lovely and minute detail. Both in beauty of this kind and in beauty of pathos Patmore seemed able to pass in all security far beyond the limit at which, in more languid hands, these things become over-ripe and sentimental. Not even so, however—to leave the simpler poems for the present out of account—is it easy to explain the profound impression which the 'Unknown Eros' makes upon many to whom the transcendentalism by which it is inspired is entirely alien. In the most characteristic of the poems, such as the three 'Psyche' odes or 'The Contract,' Patmore threads his way through a maze of delicately adjusted discriminations to his final vision of perfect love—that complete union in which strong and weak meet and are satisfied, the weak subject to the strong and yet exerting over the strong an even more potent mastery, both finding their fulfilment in a mutual bond, not imposed on them from without, not a concession to weakness, but joyfully and freely embraced as something without which the very flower of love would be wanting. Moreover, through every line runs the current

of symbolism; and, to read the poems aright, we must in every word see through and past the actual picture under our eyes, to the vision of that other marriage of the soul, which few have drawn as this poet, out of the depths of his fearless strength and faith, dares to draw it.

It is small matter for wonder if most of those who read cannot hope to follow him thus far. Perhaps it is, after all, no more strange that, even for those to whom the whole train of thought seems most unreal, the poems should yet remain revelations of deep and magic beauty. Poetry to the making of which has gone such pure fire and austere art can scarcely end, wherever its way lies, in coldness of appeal. Those who have thus felt the beauty of Patmore's great odes will find it difficult to speak of them without the appearance of exaggeration. No doubt it is impossible to claim for them the highest place; reasons for this—their lack of clarity, their frequent harshness, their violent transitions—are easy enough to single out. But they have a place apart, a peculiar niche, where they stand removed from the possibility of comparison with other poetry, greater or less. In writing of Patmore there is no danger of indulging in that favourite game of critics, derided by FitzGerald, which consists in sorting and arranging poets in order of merit, like schoolboys in a class. Patmore's genius, whatever its scope may be, is far too original and solitary to be treated like this. Mr Gosse predicts for it an increasing influence upon future generations; and it is indeed probable that, as time goes on, his lonely individuality, so far removed from all the aspirations of his own age, will stand out more and more clearly. Even now its appeal, though naturally limited, probably penetrates deeper than that of many more dominating names.

Patmore, who would never force his impulse towards poetry when it ceased to flow naturally, developed the theme of the more esoteric odes in a prose work, which he named 'Sponsa Dei.' In this book he wrote more openly and at greater length of the mysteries of the soul's spiritual union with the Divine Presence. It was shown in manuscript to a few intimate friends, among them Mr Gosse, who describes it as 'polished and modulated to the highest degree of perfection,' but was eventually destroyed by its author as being, not indeed more

advanced than orthodoxy permitted, but too outspoken for indiscriminate publication. Not to speak of the loss to literature which this sacrifice evidently entailed, the incident was characteristic of a tendency in Patmore which ran counter to his usual scorn of caution. The high doctrines of which he held the secret were for the elect only; if the rest of the world were too gross and ignorant to be ready for them, they should be withheld, or, at most, veiled in poetry—that 'language dead,' as he bitterly phrased it in the final poem of the 'Unknown Eros.' He had not the smallest desire to proselytise, to interpret his secret to the simple. This was not, indeed, due to any respect for other ways of thinking than his own, or to any feeling that truth may embody herself differently for different natures; even in the 'Child's Purchase' he does not think it out of place to fling a contemptuous phrase at those whom he considers outside the pale. Rather it was the mark of his jealously exclusive temper, his scorn for common folk, which was like nothing so much as the scorn of some scowling aristocrat of old-fashioned fiction. It was in this spirit that he wrote his political odes, few, but deplorable:

'In the year of the great crime,
When the false English Nobles and their Jew,
By God demented, slew
The Trust they should twice pledged to keep from wrong—'

It would take another Patmore to guess that this ferocious prelude refers to the Reform Act of 1867.

The picture we thus piece together will hardly be called attractive. The tall, lean figure, with its sweeping curves of hair and its imperious look, which glares disdainfully out of Mr Sargent's wonderful portrait (now in the National Portrait Gallery) is a figure to be feared indeed; there is small trace to be found there of sympathy or tenderness. And yet, in spite of everything, in spite even of the number of friendships which he alienated or broke abruptly off, a strain of affection, strong and warm, cut across the harshness of his nature. To the friends whom he kept to the end of his life he was loyal, grateful, devoted, even humble. And this strain is not missing from his poetry; for we come finally to the small section of his work which may almost be

called widely known and loved—poems like ‘The Azalea,’ ‘The Toys,’ ‘Departure,’ and, in a more tranquil vein, ‘Amelia,’ his own favourite.

In this last poem he used the dignified metre, which he made so completely his own, for an idyll, pensive and tender, of the love of a man no longer young for a young girl. On a flowery May day of bright sunshine, the air full of lilac and gorse, the maiden walks with her lover to the grave of Millicent, who years back had been his betrothed. A subject after Patmore’s heart—one which a man of less courageous simplicity would scarcely venture to handle. Even as it is, Patmore grazes the very border of fatuity. He throws in such homely touches as the maiden’s promise to her mother to behave, if she is trusted for once alone with her lover, ‘as She were there.’ He so emphasises the mildness and innocence of the whole scene that the result might well suggest the varnished sentimentality of what is known as a ‘coloured supplement.’ Only—here as not always elsewhere—Patmore’s high seriousness, his utter unconsciousness that there can be supposed to be anything ridiculous in innocence, carry him safely past the dangerous places at which he seems to be deliberately aiming. The sentiment of ‘Amelia’ is complacent indeed, but it is grave and sincere; and there is a certain nobility even in its very lack of humour. The sparkling background to this little romance is in Patmore’s finest manner. The glimpses of spring landscape, bathed in sunlight, are rendered with that firm, even hard, outline, that concentrated economy of words, which was one of his own peculiar gifts.

‘And so we went alone
By walls o’er which the lilac’s numerous plume
Shook down perfume;
Trim plots close blown
With daisies, in conspicuous myriads seen,
Engross’d each one
With single ardour for her spouse, the sun;
Garths in their glad array
Of white and ruddy branch, auroral, gay,
With azure chill the maiden flow’r between;
Meadows of fervid green,
With sometime sudden prospect of untold
Cowslips, like chance-found gold;

And broad-cast buttercups at joyful gaze,
Rending the air with praise,
Like the six-hundred-thousand-voiced shout
Of Jacob camp'd in Midian put to rout.'

This is the exact opposite of what is loosely called 'impressionism.' The impressionist gains his end by blurring the picture in his own mind, and merging detail into the general sense of light and colour. If he then rightly renders this effect, the more salient detail stands out of its own accord, as in the old anecdote of the landscape with cows in the distance, which the painter himself had not recognised to be cows. Patmore's method starts from the detail in the first place, and by means of detail gives the general impression. Every word in his beautiful descriptions is chosen and fitted into its place like a stitch in a tapestry; each has its own value, and no redundancy is allowed. His epithets have the ring of words selected on the spot—the sort of word, often homely, as often far-fetched and curious, which occurs to the mind while the field or flower is actually before the eyes; and these he always refrained from softening down afterwards. Here comes in again the unique flavour of his style, so unmistakable and so hard to analyse—that blend of angularity and richness, held together and harmonised by the masterful brain of a man who knew exactly what he believed and what he wished to say.

Finally, in some half-dozen poems, strangely mingled, in the first part of the 'Unknown Eros,' with the shattering blast of several political odes, there are flute-notes heard only here in all Patmore's work. It is hard to describe the double and treble pathos that clings about this small group of lyrics, in which alone his self-sufficient nature seems to have part in the common weakness and sorrow of ailing mortals. It is not only their perfect simplicity, it is the truthfulness with which they render the exact impact of grief upon the mind, that gives these poems their extraordinary poignancy. A spirit tuned to high moments of tragedy can perhaps comprehend the disaster as it falls, can measure the change which in a single moment may deflect and shadow all that follows of life. But it is otherwise with sorrow that falls into the very middle of ordinary, near-sighted existence. Small things, inessential details, bulk as largely as before, and only

time can clear them away; tragedy is at first bewilderment, hardly more than a sense of disquiet. It is this moment which is seized with such wonderful insight in the poem 'Departure,' a picture of grief which does not yet perceive that it is grief. 'The Azalea,' with its desolating contrast of perfumed warmth and chill solitude, touches even more consummately the actual reality of suffering. No mystic vision, no intangible abstraction, here lifts the mood into an air too rare for human sympathy and understanding. It is incredible that a man who in his poetry lived so persistently in an exotic world of his own should yet have been able to identify himself thus closely with life at the very moment when its prison-walls seem most insurmountable. In two other well-known poems, 'The Toys,' and 'If I were dead,' the thought itself is scarcely more touching than the thought of that inaccessible spirit, for the most part so scornfully detached, sharing after all in such woundings as await strong and weak, with no other hope than lies open to the weakest.

'I have written little, but it is all my best; I have never spoken when I had nothing to say, nor spared time or labour to make my words true. I have respected posterity; and should there be a posterity which cares for letters, I dare to hope that it will respect me.'

So Patmore wrote in the note which heads his final collection of poems. Popularity was nothing to him; and, though he had it in his own time, the narrow line which he faithfully followed seems now to have led him away from the possibility of it. Among the many greater writers who have devoted long lives to poetry, he stands out, perhaps almost alone, as one who allowed no consideration to turn him aside from the exact path which he saw was his own. It was indeed his own; the greatest and broadest imaginations have not achieved more profoundly original work. Such new forms of beauty, offered by an interpreter so little inclined to conciliate or to explain, may be long in producing their full effect; but it is impossible to doubt that they contain the indestructible element which, as time goes on, will make them more and more conspicuous among the falling ruins of their day.

PERCY LUBBOCK.

Art. V.—MOHAMMED AND ISLAM.

Annali dell' Islām. Compilati da Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano. Vol. I: Introduzione; Dall' anno 1 al 6 H. Vol. II: Dall' anno 7 al 12 H. Con tre carte geografiche, due piante, parecchie illustrazioni, e l' indice alfabetico dei volumi I e II. Ulrico Hoepli, editore-libraio della real casa: Milano, 1905-7. Fol.

THE biographies of the Prophet Mohammed issued in the nineteenth century illustrate the truth of the maxim that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, if strength and swiftness in this region be represented by acquaintance with the subject. The public verdict, which Horace assures us is as often wrong as right, assigns the prize without hesitation to an author who was not an Orientalist, and had access to a small portion of the material. Washington Irving's is the only Life of Mohammed that has been a great literary success, has been re-issued in a variety of shapes, and won admission to Tauchnitz's academy of popular favourites. Others may be studied for instruction, but his is read for pleasure. He enlists the sympathy of his readers for his hero, and the hero's helpers, the faithful Khadijah, the brave Ali, deprived time after time of his rightful inheritance, the mighty warrior Khalid, the loyal and devoted Abu Bekr; but he has no doctrine to inculcate, no theory, religious or philosophical, to uphold. If Oriental history has few readers, the success of Washington Irving's monograph shows that the historians rather than the history are responsible for this.

After Washington Irving comes Sir William Muir, though at a long distance; for his scholarly and admirable work was never actually reprinted, but survived for a time in an abridged edition, of which there was more than one impression, yet which appears now to have fallen to the remainder booksellers. Sprenger's standard treatise seems to have had a second impression, but it has not been reprinted since 1869; no writer on the subject has come to it with fuller knowledge or a keener historical instinct, though he blunders shockingly when he leaves the region of Islam; his Greek, his Hebrew, and his Syriac afford food for mirth. His attempt at an

English Life was less successful than his German work, as the former was never even finished. A short and popular life appeared at Hanover in 1863, by Nöldeke, the most venerated of Orientalists; the 1863 edition appears never to have been exhausted. Weil's Life, in several ways epoch-making, and the basis of Washington Irving's, has not been reprinted since its appearance in 1843, though the rest of his history of Islam has had the honour of a photographic reproduction. French writers on the subject have been no more successful in winning popular favour, though the theme has been handled by many, including Barthélémy St Hilaire. The secret of interesting the world in Mohammed and his successors seems to have been revealed to Washington Irving and to no one else, unless Syed Ameer Ali's 'Spirit of Islam,' which is popular among the Indian Moslems, and not unpopular in this country, should be mentioned in this context.

The Prince of Teano does not—at any rate at first—contemplate being read by a large public, since his work is only printed in 250 copies, and of these a large number are generously presented by him to his fellow-students. It is planned on a great scale, being destined to cover the whole history of Islam, and executed in magnificent style; should he complete it, as every Arabic scholar hopes he may, his history will rank in bulk with the most sustained efforts in this branch of literature which any language can show. Rampoldi, who wrote a history of Islam in twelve octavo volumes about a century ago, will be easily surpassed. For the prince's two first volumes, comprising over 2300 folio pages, bring the history down only to the commencement of the Caliphate. How many will be required to cover the well-chronicled thirteen centuries that separate us from that time?

The vastness of the plan is due to the method employed by the prince, who reproduces the content of the original authorities, sometimes without condensation, in numbered paragraphs, to which notes are attached, giving the results of modern research, including the author's own, where there are conflicting traditions, or where the veracity of the narratives is questionable on other grounds. Where the author launches out into lengthy discussions, he shows that he can write with vigour and

eloquence in the noble language of Italy; but whether it be the fact that fine paper and types help the reader more than they are ordinarily supposed to do, or whether it be that the prince possesses skill similar to that which belonged to de Sacy, who could make grammatical paragraphs pleasant reading, his book takes less time to peruse and leaves a more definite impression on the mind than many of far smaller compass which deal with the same events. And owing to the profound and exhaustive studies on which it is based, over which it is clear that the prince has spared neither labour nor expense, it seems likely that his *Annali* will in any case form the groundwork for future researches, as summing up the results acquired by the labours of the nineteenth century, and securing intending workers from wasting their efforts on problems that have already been solved.

The sources for the Life of the Prophet appear to be very numerous, but critical inspection restricts them considerably. It might have been expected that so remarkable a personage would have had a Boswell—some friend and admirer who aspired to the honour of being the great man's biographer, and who therefore kept notes and collected materials till the time arrived when a large circle would be glad of an exhaustive memoir containing the truth about him. If the idea did not occur to an Arab, because no Arab had till then composed a biography or other prose monument, there were converts from the Jewish and Christian communities to whom models for such a performance must have been familiar. Though the Prophet's own notions about the nature of the 'Injil' were hazy, some of his followers must have been aware that the Gospels were biographies of the Christian Saviour and might have guessed that an authentic account of the founder of the new religion, destined to supersede all others, would bring its author lasting fame. That no such memoir was attempted agrees with a tradition according to which the Koran tolerated no written literature beside itself. Letters might be written and contracts, but a book would constitute a possible rival to God's book, and it was not permissible to write one. Since the proof of the divine character of the Koran lay in its inimitable eloquence, the risk of such rivalry was serious. A man who had shown the Meccans that he, too, could tell the

stories of the Ancients, had been executed by the Prophet's order as a specially dangerous enemy; because, it would seem, 'de gustibus non est disputandum,' and there might be persons with the bad taste or the want of candour to prefer some other style to that ascribed to the Divine Being. Translations of the older Scriptures might have been thought not only innocent, but even necessary, since the Koran claims to be in agreement with them; but the perusal of such translations was not permitted. Eulogistic odes would appear to have been the only literary efforts patronised at the Prophet's court, and even for the beauties of these he had no critical ear, and at one time had to deliver a polemic against the poets.

No one, therefore, making it his business to collect materials, such were not collected. The contents of the Prophet's letters were afterwards cited, not from originals jealously guarded, but from some traditionalist's memory. These are, till the last years of his life, few, obscure, and meagre. Collections which would have been of unique value to the historian, such as the correspondence of the Prophet with his agent at Medinah before the Flight, have perished without leaving a trace. There may also have been an Abyssinian correspondence going back far into the Meccan period. Towards the end of the Prophet's life he carried on a diplomatic correspondence with the aid of official secretaries, of which rather more has come down.

What was done in lieu of compiling biographies was to remember casual sayings, or, long after the events, to get persons who had been present to narrate them. The order of the chief occurrences between the Flight and the Prophet's death was probably recorded, not because any one had kept a journal, but because his second successor assigned pensions to the Companions of the Prophet, which varied in amount according to their precedence in conversion. When the date of conversion became an asset, with a fixed cash value, it got into the public registers, and thence found its way into history.

From the registers, then, of state pensioners the dates of the chief battles are likely to have been obtained, and from these some portions of the Koran can be dated and interpreted. Other portions are dated by conjectures, based usually on psychological considerations. A certain

evolution of the Prophet's mind is assumed, and the Surahs arranged to correspond with it. The results may be correct or incorrect; there are some grounds for fearing the latter. One is that the Prophet's respect for the Koran was largely theoretical, like his belief in the older Scriptures. When an oracle had been delivered he ordinarily thought no more about it. There is no evidence that he kept any sort of record of his revelations; indeed, there is good evidence that he kept none. After his death the Koran had to be collected; it did not exist as a whole. When consulted about revelations said to have been delivered by him, he betrayed considerable embarrassment, and resorted to evasions in order to save his face. At times, however, he awarded certain honours to those who had collected most texts, putting a premium on exhaustive collection. At a solemn service after his death Abu Bekr recited a text in which the event is foretold. It seemed to the audience that they had never heard that text before. To many of these persons the Prophet's revelations counted as the most important of the day's events; yet a noteworthy text seemed new to them! Unless, therefore, the style of the Koran be really inimitable, we have no guarantee that the texts on which the psychological history of the Prophet is based are genuine. They may have been put into the final collection by mistake or by fraud.

But even if this suspicion be unfounded, there is another circumstance which suggests caution. Either these effusions are conscious or they are the product of the subliminal consciousness. In the latter case who can say in what order the subliminal consciousness tosses up the matter which it has at some time absorbed? But if they were conscious compositions, and so intentional mystification, we should be mistaken in regarding them as a faithful mirror of the author's mind.

The prince, who lays very proper emphasis on the fragmentary character of the Koran, and its intentional mutilation by the Prophet, tries to find a way out of the dilemma.

'Nessuna delle Sure esistenti è la prima assoluta delle rivelazioni avute da Maometto: queste non gli vennero un giorno all'improvviso come un fulmine a ciel sereno, ma furono invece il prodotto di un lungo periodo di incubazione e di

riflessioni religiose, che Maometto trasformò con molto studio in composizioni letterarie, pur sempre nella convinzione che lo stimolo interno, che lo muoveva ad agire, fosse un essere soprannaturale, quale abbiamo descritto precedentemente' (vol. i, p. 203).

This view seems to carry the possibilities of self-deception unreasonably far. Mohammed, according to it, thought a matter out at great length, then took great pains to put it into literary form, and when finished and ready for publication, assigned it to a supernatural agency! The process is a familiar one; Virgil and Milton, no less than Homer, attributed the authorship of their poems to the Muse, although the poems were elaborated consciously; yet neither thereby declined the responsibility of authorship. In Mohammed's case it seems clear that from beginning to end such responsibility was declined; the view which he took of his Surahs was similar to that which Mrs Verrall takes of her automatic writings, the curious Latin and Greek of which may form a clue to the personality of their author, but do not represent Mrs Verrall's own scholarship. In her case the badness of the composition is evidence that though she (physically) wrote it, it was not hers; in the case of Mohammed its unapproachable excellence furnishes a similar argument. Supposing that the lady mentioned had deliberately thought out unclassical words and phrases, and then published the result as 'automatic writing,' she would have been guilty of conscious imposture, if that phrase have any meaning.

The same reasoning must be applied to Mohammed's case, nor would any Moslem shrink from applying it. Spontaneous utterances might be mistaken for the words of another being, and published as such in good faith; but matter which is the result of reflection, and put with 'much study' into literary form, cannot be ascribed by its author to some one else without deceit, unless such ascription be a mere literary convention, like that of 'Paradise Lost' to the Muse. The greater the care we suppose to have been bestowed on the Prophet's revelations, the less we shall be disposed to trust them as revealing his real purposes and intentions. When he became a commander of armies, it was observed that it was his regular plan to start in a very different direction from that which he

intended actually to take; the enemy was to be put off the scent. There is no reason for supposing that this wise and effective strategy was first practised by him in actual warfare. When he fled from Meccah he started southward, though Medinah lay to the north; and those who inferred that Medinah was not his destination would have been as skilful in gauging his abilities as those who infer anything as to his ultimate aspirations from the early Surahs of the Koran.

With regard to the Tradition, its authenticity in any particular case has to be settled largely by *a priori* considerations. A remarkable feature about it, to which Sprenger with justice calls attention, is its sympathy for the losing side. The Prophet's opponents are represented as his superiors in scrupulousness and humanity. Want of energy, want of persistence, want of forethought, want of discipline—with these failings Mohammed's enemies are charged, and doubtless with justice, by the Prophet's successful followers; but charges of deceitfulness, heartlessness, bloodthirstiness, they in the main reserve for their paragon and his disciples. Ordinarily, therefore, the Tradition has not been falsified by attempts at blackening the character of the adversary or whitewashing those of the founders of Islam. Nor has the miraculous element been introduced to an extent which renders it difficult to eliminate. Angels, it is true, are introduced at some of the battles, and the devil occasionally appears on the scene; but their part resembles that of chorus rather than that of *deus ex machina*, and does not appreciably affect the result.

The causes that led to the accumulation of apocryphal traditions were, however, sufficiently numerous. One such was curiosity, the desire to know more and more about the most interesting of all figures, a desire which unscrupulous persons would gratify, often for a small sum. We read of a greengrocer giving a traditionalist two-pennyworth of goods for a penny and three farthings, the remaining farthing being represented by a tradition about the Prophet's grandson; and the rate for fresh matter about the Prophet himself is likely at times to have been no higher. But besides mere curiosity, there was the desire to support the claims of rival dynasties and the more honourable desire to obtain rulings or

precedents for questions of law and ritual that were always cropping up. Where there was no source of law save the Prophet's example, the case had to be met by a legal fiction, at the expense of falsifying history.

The only criticism of the tradition known to the Moslems consists in an enquiry into the character of the various endorsements, and the justice is obvious of the principle that honest men should be believed and others disbelieved. Unfortunately with the Moslems honesty is interpreted as piety, and experience shows that piety may be simulated, that it does not always go with intentional veracity, and that veracity is dependent on mental attainments no less than on moral disposition. Strict, therefore, as are the conditions on which the 'two Shaikhs,' Bokhari and Muslim, give their authority to traditions, they do not satisfy European critics, who in some ways are yet stricter, and in others more lax.

On the whole the work of the nineteenth century has resulted in the relegation to the region of fiction of more and more matter that used to figure in biographies of the Prophet. The fabric of genealogies so carefully erected by Wüstenfeld collapsed before the attack of Sprenger, and the remains were largely swept away by Robertson Smith. The chronicles of Meccah before the rise of Islam have dwindled to the meagrest proportions. Nöldeke showed that the expedition of the Elephant must have happened many years before the Prophet's birth, with which the Arabs make it synchronise; Prince Caetani would throw doubt on the very existence of this elephant. His grounds are that African elephants are difficult to tame, and that the arid land of Arabia would not have furnished an elephant with an adequate supply of food. Not even *one*? Whether the elephant be a myth or not, the expedition named after it is certainly historical, for it alone renders the subsequent development of Islam intelligible. Its precise analogy is the expedition of Sennacherib, which, as shown by Wellhausen, accounts for the rise of Judaism and its consequences for mankind. The gods ordinarily abandon their temples before powerful invaders; when they stay to defend them the world feels the result of the miracle.

So many an excrescence has been removed by the knife of earlier critics that it rather looks as if Prince

Caetani had been compelled to amputate what are not excrescences, but parts of the healthy organism. The tradition makes Mohammed a posthumous child of Abdallah, son of Abd al-Muttalib, named after some earlier member of the family. Sprenger made the unfortunate suggestion that Mohammed was not a personal name, but a title like that of Messiah. For this there was not a particle of real evidence; and Mohammed as an ordinary proper name was observed by Renan to occur in pre-Islamic inscriptions. Sprenger should have simply recalled his conjecture; but this is not the way of even the best scholars, and so no fault can be found with him. He suggested, without actually asserting, that the name Abdallah, as applied to the Prophet's father, was an invention. The prince takes up that suggestion, would have it that the evidence for the name is 'suspect,' and that such a name as 'Servant of Allah' in pagan times is grossly improbable. We next come to Abd al-Muttalib; this ought to mean 'Slave of the god Muttalib'; but we know of no such god, and the Arabs explain that in this case it meant slave of a man Muttalib, a sobriquet given by mistake. Here the prince argues that the personage in question must have been called slave of some god, and therefore Muttalib is a wilful alteration by Moslems, who did not wish the Prophet's grandfather to be called after an idol; but that meanwhile the probability is that Mohammed was not connected by blood with this personage, but was, as the Arabs would say, 'Hayy son of Bayy,' i.e. a person of unknown origin, adopted in childhood by a family resident in Meccah.

Apparently, then, Abdallah is condemned as a name because it is too obvious, Abd al-Muttalib because it is too obscure. The Koran assures us (xliii, 87) that if you asked a Meccan idolator who had created him he would reply, Allah; and elsewhere the Meccans are represented as saying that they were acquainted with the name Allah, though they did not know the Prophet's 'Rahman.' Wellhausen supposes that by Allah, 'God,' the Meccans meant Hubal, on the principle by which the head of a household is in his own home called father, not John Smith. Whether this be so or not, it is going beyond the range of our evidence to assert that a Meccan could not have had the name Abdallah. And with regard to the

grandfather's name, it surely has no appearance of being fictitious. The name Muttalib is a variety of the name Talib, which appears in that of Ali's father, and there are other forms of it. Moreover, even in the first fifty years of Islam, owing to disputes over the succession and other causes, the names of the immediate ancestors of the leading figures on the political stage must have become household words wherever Islam made its way. For a time it was the custom to curse Ali publicly from the pulpits. This is how a man who died in the year 125 A.H. used to do it (according to an early and excellent authority): 'May God do unto Ali, son of Abu Talib, son of Abd al-Muttalib, son of Hashim, son of Abd Manaf, cousin of the Apostle of God, husband of his daughter Fatimah, father of Hasan and Husain.' Unless the whole of the early history be thrown overboard, uncles and aunts of Ali survived after the Flight: one of the former, Hamzah, was the hero of more than one of the Prophet's battles; another, Abbas, played an important part even later. Could all these have forgotten their father's name, or could their descendants have made an agreement to conceal it?

In general the tradition of the course of events at Meccah before the Flight appears to deserve more credit than the prince would assign it. If the story had been falsified for the purpose of edification, it would have been easy to make the Prophet stay there protected by a guard of angels; the tradition makes him be protected by Meccan families, and leave Meccah in the interval between the death of one protector and the securing of another. If it had been falsified in the interest of reigning families, it would have selected the Prophet's protectors out of them, rather than out of the family of Ali, whose sovereignty was ephemeral. The slight extent to which this has been attempted in the case of Abbas, eponymous of the Abbasids, is evidence of the general soundness of the tradition.

However, questions of detail interest only a small public. A larger audience is concerned with general results. Should Mohammed be regarded as a genuine prophet (whatever may be the definition to be assigned that term), or as a conscious or unconscious impostor, or as a prophet for the first half of his career and an

impostor for the second half? So far as this question concerns the depths of Mohammed's mind, perhaps we scarcely possess the power to pry into it; those, however (and Prince Caetani is not one of them), are mistaken who approach it with a poor opinion of the Prophet's intellectual ability. A man who, so far as we know, never left anything to chance, who insured to his utmost against all possibility of risk, who never troubled himself about the genuineness of a conversion, provided he had secured an ally, who gauged the abilities of enemies and friends with exactitude, possessed mental qualities which his critics and biographers would do well to respect. An accurate scholar he undoubtedly was not; but the prince rightly observes that in the discussions between the Prophet and the Jews the audience were quite unaware that the latter scored. If the speedy production of proselytes be the object of a mission, there is no reason for supposing that the most accurate knowledge in the world would have added to the Prophet's efficiency.

A rather more soluble problem is that which concerns the essential character of Mohammed's system. Was he a preacher of righteousness turned by circumstances into a captain of banditti, or was he essentially an empire-builder, who, with the one end kept steadily in view, compassed it by preaching and by fighting, by delivering oracles and by organising assassinations, by circulating tracts and by ordering massacres, according as the circumstances rendered the one or the other course practicable and efficacious? So far as the period after the Flight is concerned, the prince is not wanting in respect for the Prophet's 'fine political tact.' He analyses with lucidity the character of the political game which the Prophet had to play as despot of Medinah, and does full justice to the ability with which he played it. If the parts of the opposition are still shadowy, if, with the keenest desire to render justice to the other personages who in one way or another contributed to the result, he still makes Mohammed's the towering figure, which leaves little room for any one else on the canvas, the nature of our sources is to blame. A Medinese Josephus, a chronicle by either a pagan or a 'hypocrite' of the time, would probably increase our admiration of the Prophet's

ability, but it would also aid us to understand the failure of all his enemies. Sprenger, who undertook to explain Mohammed from the circumstances of the time, by no means carried out his undertaking; had he not mentioned his intention in his preface it would scarcely have been guessed. Perhaps the prince has in Sprenger's place carried it out so far as the nature of the evidence admits of such execution.

It is, of course, difficult at once to eulogise his intellectual powers and to defend his acts. The pages of delightful reading which are devoted by the prince to this endeavour are scarcely likely to carry conviction. The brigandage which commenced almost immediately after the Flight is defended on the ground that private property was undeveloped at the time, and between members of the same family there can be no theft! How the second of these principles works is not very clear. If one member of the community appropriate the common property, it is a case of theft just as much as if he appropriated goods to which he had no title at all. In the Arabian communities it seems that there was no private property in certain things, e.g. wells, and perhaps land; but here the property was inherent in tribes; and in most articles (unless the whole of early Islamic history be a fiction) the theory of personal property appears to have been fully developed at both Meccah and Medinah. The defence for the massacre of the Banu Kuraizah is that it was in accordance with the sanguinary spirit of the time, and that the fault lies rather with the ideas of the age than with Mohammed. This line of defence would be excellent if we had not to do with a reformer, for such a person is *ex officio* in advance of his age, and must be judged by a somewhat higher standard. The defence for the Prophet's making Allah (as Ayeshah expressed it) pander to his lusts is that the Arabian idea of God was very low. Is Mohammed then to have it both ways—to be admired for introducing a higher idea of the deity, and excused for basing his practice on a lower one?

At times it would appear that the Prince abandons his defence and frankly acknowledges that the Prophet at Medinah pursued his ends with absolutely no scruple as to the means. Similarly, Sprenger observes that he

left his conscience at Meccah. The question that remains is whether he ever had one to leave. For it is impossible to trace during the Medinah period any gradual deterioration of character in the Prophet, such as can occasionally be discovered in politicians. He seems to have taken to what we call atrocities as a duck takes to water, without requiring education and habituation. He wanted to massacre the first Jewish tribe with which he had a quarrel. That his measures in dealing with the Israelites became more and more severe was therefore a concession to circumstances, not the result of growing callousness on the Prophet's part. His statesmanship showed him presently that there were better and more useful things to be done with unbelievers than massacring them; but his severity and his leniency were both dictated by considerations of utility; morality and humanity had no part in the reckoning. In general his morality (apart from sexual matters) appears to have improved as his political power became more and more firmly established. It was in the early days that he got rid of opponents by assassination; in the early days that he raided the Meccan caravans. There is no evidence that he ever repented of any of these acts. They were conditions of success which could not be avoided, but which he had no desire to repeat without necessity.

We are of course at liberty to make the Prophet at Meccah a single-minded champion of virtue, because we have a blank page to fill. In favour of this opinion the maxim '*nemo repente fuit turpissimus*'—no one suddenly develops into a scoundrel—has been cited. That maxim would, however, seem to be wholly on the other side. At Medinah, as the prince allows, the Prophet became a religious opportunist. If people acknowledged him to be God's Messenger, and paid their taxes, they might think what they liked, and even do as they liked in the matter of religious observances. There is evidence that even in the matter of tolerating idolatry he took a much more liberal line than the chief Companions. Did power, then, in his case not reveal the man, but radically change the man?

The prince does his best for the Prophet, but he confesses that his account of the matter is so subtle that many readers will be unable to follow it. He brings

one quite new argument in favour of the Prophet's sincerity—the statement that none of Mohammed's contemporaries ever charged him with being an impostor!

'Se i pagani lo avessero accusato d'ingannare gli uomini con menzogne ed imposture, memoria di ciò se sarebbe trovata tanto nel Qur'an che nel Hadith. I versetti quranici del periodo makkano sono la prova documentata di ciò che i nemici di Maometto gli addebitavano: lo chiamavano poeta, indovino, mago, ed anche pazzo (magnun, ossia ispirato dai ginn), nessuno però lo chiamo impostore nel senso che non fosse vera la sua pretesa ispirazione.'

This statement staggers any one who possesses any acquaintance with either the Koran or the tradition. It is sufficient to quote Surah xxv, 5:

'The unbelievers say this is nothing but a fabrication which he has forged, and whereunto he has been helped by others; and they have committed wrong and falsehood. And they say Stories of the Ancients, which he has taken down, they being recited to him morning and evening.'

Compare Surah xvi, 103. 'When we substitute one verse for another, although God knows best what He reveals, they say You are fabricating.' In the same Surah (verse 105) he answers the charge of being taught by a man (*basharun*) by the assertion that the person they mean is a foreigner, who cannot be the author of a book which shows no trace of foreignness. These are Meccan Surahs, and they inform us that the Prophet was charged with wilful deception, and with publishing as God's words texts which he had been taught by some man, if indeed he had not invented them himself. The proposition which has been quoted in the original Italian is therefore simply untenable. The Prophet's pagan contemporaries did charge him with being an impostor, and regarded his alteration of what he called God's word, which should be eternal and invariable, as demonstration of the fact. And these remarkable verses, in which the Prophet is depicted by his enemies as taking notes, and getting assistance from various persons, including a foreigner, show that the Meccan community was far less naïve than many people suppose. They postulated human agencies and not 'jinn' for the composition of literary matter. If they called a man 'majnun,' meaning 'lunatic,' they

probably connected his state with the 'jinn' to the same extent as we connect it with the moon. It also appears that they had a notion of Mohammed's purpose which the event justified. 'This is merely a man like yourselves who wishes to set himself above you,' is what the contemporaries of Noah said to him, according to the Koran, where Noah undoubtedly stands for Mohammed. What they misjudged was his ability; they thought him mad, i.e. bent on an impracticable enterprise. He proved it to be practicable enough. The statement of the prince is not due to ignorance, but to zeal going beyond the bounds of discretion.

One of the longest discussions is that in which the prince argues against von Kremer that the ceremonies of Islam, in their rigid form, were not the work of the Prophet but of the theologians after his decease. He endeavours to prove that the Mosque of Medinah, the building of which the Prophet commenced immediately after his arrival at the place of refuge, was not at the first a mosque, but merely a house for the Prophet and his family: circumstances turned it into a mosque. The Friday service and the daily five prayers were not rigidly fixed in the Prophet's time; had they been so the Koran must have expressly enjoined them. The argument from the silence of the Koran is a dangerous one: we might infer from it that circumcision was not an Islamic ordinance, because it is well known that the Koran has nothing on the subject. The Koran is not a code but a collection of fragments of discourses put together no one knows how. But the proposition that the religion of the Meccan period was a purely speculative system, to which the Medinah period added a ritual, seems exceedingly hazardous. There is no doubt that the Meccan Prophet warned his fellow citizens against impending doom, whether heavenly flame or hell-fire. To the question what they must do to be saved, the answer cannot have been purely negative: Abstain from the worship of idols! It must have offered a substitute for that worship; and this there is every reason to suppose to have been prayer preceded by washing, of the person or of the clothes. Public prayer was perilous in Meccah, though secret assemblies were doubtless held for the purpose, or for the delivery of revelations. That the Prophet's first

care when he reached Medinah should have been to provide a meeting-place for believers appears to be exceedingly natural. His wives' houses were otherwise his houses; the mosque was for public assemblies, and so was the house of the community rather than his own.

The desire to elevate Mohammed's first programme at the expense of the later development of Islam frequently prevents writers from doing justice either to the Prophet's intellectual power or to the moral qualities of the Islamic theologians. As Kant says, 'concepts without percepts are empty.' Sublime and simple as is the notion of One God, without companion or associate, it contains no guidance for conduct. What man wants to know is how God or the gods can be propitiated or—if we rise to the highest plane—obeyed. And no system that does not prescribe some form of worship has any chance of spreading, except perhaps among persons with very great capacity for abstract speculation, which does not appear to have been the character of Mohammed's followers. The offering of milk to Al-Lat was shown to be ridiculous. What then was not ridiculous? Some form of service to Allah was of course the answer, and this had to be specified. Traditions, which cannot be set aside without shattering the whole fabric of the Prophet's biography, place the institution of *salât*—the repetition of formulæ accompanied by various postures of the body—at the commencement of the mission. That it is more meritorious or purer to perform this ceremony at irregular times than at regular seems to be an extraordinary doctrine.

Naïve forms of religion proceed on the supposition that God likes what man likes; whence the early Israelites offered Jehovah boiled meat. Advanced forms reject that supposition and substitute for it the hypothesis that the merit in the service lies not in the gratification which the deity derives from it, but in the implicit obedience of the worshipper; for the intrinsic value of the offering there is substituted the *etiquette* (to use Wellhausen's term) observed in the process of presenting it. The etiquette is known from a divine revelation prescribing it. Speculation on the hidden reasons which underlie the rules is unsafe, because it may reveal imperfections. That the rules for service were given in

this way is not only the system of the Moslem theologians; but Mohammed's own; he had the privilege of access to the Divine Being, whereas the theologians have access only to what was revealed through him. From the point of view of neither has the practice of other communities anything to do with the matter. To the unbeliever, however, it has a great deal. He finds that the ceremonies of Islam are copied from other systems, in which their origin can be traced very often to a naïve belief; and he holds that they were deliberately taken over by the founder of Islam, either because he considered them to be essential parts of a religious system, or because he saw some advantage accruing to the community from them. Supposing this view to be right, the theologians appear to be morally superior, though intellectually inferior, to their founder.

Of the conflict between the theistic notion of God and ceremonies originating in naïve theology, we see traces in the Koran no less than in the Old Testament. God fills all space; how reconcile with this the building of a house for Him? This difficulty occurs to the Solomon of the Books of Kings, or perhaps to his prophetic chronicler. God is in every direction; so when you pray turn towards the Ka'bah; this is the logic of the Koran. If the terms of that syllogism be filled in, it will be found to contain the propositions that the philosophical notion of God suggests nothing as to any mode of worship; such modes must then be naïve or arbitrary. If naïve methods be rejected, arbitrary methods must be substituted, and these may be dictated by political expediency.

This is the reasoning of the historical Mohammed, the astute ruler of Medinah and conqueror of Arabia. He claims not to speak from caprice, and this claim is not unjust. His extraordinary calendar, twelve lunar months, which bear no relation to the seasons, is not due to caprice, still less to 'moon-worship,' perhaps the absurdest charge ever brought against the Prophet; it was made to deprive certain officials of the right to intercalate, and in ignorance of the fact that the year had some relation to both great luminaries. His prohibition of liquor was no caprice either; he appears to have been a 'moderate drinker' himself; but a painful example showed him that drunkenness was fatal to discipline, and

he forbade alcoholic drinks altogether. He was not the first religious reformer who penalised their use, but is likely to have been the first who did so for a purely practical reason. His regulations on the subject of the Sabbath perhaps illustrate best the intensely practical character of his mind. A holy time in the week appeared to him advantageous from many points of view ; whereas to rest from work one day out of seven seemed to him no less than to Juvenal gross waste of time ; and the Jewish Sabbath, with its endless restrictions, was justly regarded by him as an undesirable institution. For a day, then, he substituted a fraction of a day in which worldly thoughts were to give way to religious celebration, and selected an hour in a day which differed from those taken by Jews and Christians.

The process whereby the revelations at Medinah were delivered somewhat resembles those by which the sovereign's speech is produced in a constitutional country, where it is the result of calm deliberation by ministers, who ascribe their work to the sovereign. What reason have we for supposing that the revelations at Meccah were different in quality ? It is hard to say, except that the detestation for idolatry which many have inherited from Puritan days appears to win sympathy for Mohammed in his campaign against the Meccan idols, which he forfeits when his attitude becomes positive and constructive. Is it in accordance with experience that a man's character changes radically at the age of 53 ? Such cases may occur ; but a much more ordinary phenomenon is that a man develops when the scope of his operations enlarges, and exhibits powers perhaps unsuspected, but none the less latent previously. At Medinah, as Caetani represents the Prophet, he is an opportunist with whom religion is a political instrument. To win the Jews he very nearly became a Jew ; when he finds that they cannot be won, and must be destroyed, he dissociates himself more and more widely from them. For both proceedings the responsibility is placed on Allah. Why should we suppose that this calm calculation, this cynicism, if we may use the term, was a product of the air of Medinah ?

Before we could share this view we ought to know more about the religion of Meccah, and more about the history of the Meccan mission. Our knowledge of both

is from Moslem sources. No Jew or Christian would grant that the Koran contained anything but a travesty of his religion made by a man who, either purposely or through ignorance, misrepresented it; why should we suppose that the Meccan pagans would have regarded theirs as correctly portrayed therein? The charge that the Jews say Ezra—if that personage be meant by 'Uzair—is the Son of God is rejected by the Jews as a baseless calumny; can we trust the same authority implicitly for the assertion that the Meccans regarded their goddesses as God's daughters?

What the Koran tells us about the Meccan religion is not after all very shocking. The practises condemned are, as Sprenger says, some innocent, some pointless, some disgusting;* the only horror recorded in connexion with them is not in the Koran; it is the story that Mohammed's grandfather vowed to sacrifice his son. But this story is a fiction in the first place, and in the second the grandfather, even according to the myth, does not accomplish the sacrifice, but forces the oracle to let him substitute for it a hecatomb of camels. Whether the virtues which the Meccans undoubtedly exhibited in their dealings with the Prophet and with each other were authorised by their goddesses we do not know, just as we should not have known that the much-abused Ashtoreth disapproved of the violation of tombs, had not an inscription been discovered attesting it. Of their authorising any decidedly immoral practice we have no evidence.

It often happens that a man's later career reproduces his earlier fortunes with some variations in the environment and the actors. In his dealings with the Jews and Christians we find Mohammed's chief difficulty lay in the fact that he wished to take the place of the personage who, in their respective systems, acts as mediator between themselves and God; neither party giving way on this subject, internecine struggles ensued. Mohammed's dispute with the Meccans seems to have hinged on the same matter; either the goddesses or he had to give way; otherwise he was willing to take over much of the

* Sprenger adds, 'some criminal,' with reference to infanticide. But the extent to which this practice prevailed at Meccah is most obscure.

Meccan ritual just as he took much from the Jews and something from the Christians. But it is not clear why in the one dispute he was a sincere reformer and in the others a conscious opportunist. If idolatry or no idolatry had been the question, it is certain that the kissing of the black stone would not have been taken over from the earlier cult. But the theory of the prophetic office in the Koran has really but little to do with the inculcation of doctrines. The nations are punished for disobeying the prophets, not for holding wrong opinions or doing immoral acts. Agreement with a prophet on every subject was valueless unless that agreement meant belief in the prophet's authority.

If we choose to deal with the kernel rather than with the shell, and see whither Mohammed's claim led and how he enforced it, admiration for his intellectual ability is the feeling that most fills the mind. Every poor fortune-teller at a fair claims to have access to 'the Guarded Table,' i.e. to be able to read the decrees of God, to which others have no approach; and is not necessarily a conscious impostor. Yet he or she is satisfied with a few coppers for the exercise of the power. To a great mind the inference occurred that such a power gave a right to supremacy in the state and in the world, to reconstruct the moral code, to dictate every item of human conduct. But without proper knowledge of mankind, without coolness of head and clearness of vision, without patience and tenacity of purpose, the announcement of such a claim would have resulted in a miserable fiasco, provocative of laughter and contempt, and afterwards forgotten. In the case of Mohammed it resulted in the foundation of a new religion, and in the conquest of half the world.

Nor can it be said that such great results were altogether unearned. The world gives nothing for nothing; and not only was a revision of the moral code a boon to Arabia, but the erection of a powerful state was unquestionably a meritorious achievement. To take the execution of the law out of the hands of individuals and tribal organisations and compel obedience to a central authority which, even in remote regions of the desert it was unsafe to disobey, was a result justifying many irregularities, if ever the end justifies the means. Intellectual gifts of so high an order are not intelligible

without some corresponding moral qualities, and indeed the Prophet's extraordinary self-control might rank as either. His ordinance abolishing the use of liquor, issued and observed by him after he had passed his fiftieth year, is an example. Still rarer qualities are two negative ones—freedom from envy and freedom from vindictiveness. To his doctrine that Islam cancelled all that was before it, he adhered, whatever the provocation to violate it; no insult and no outrage that had been inflicted on himself or those nearest and dearest to him was ever remembered when once its author had acknowledged that Mohammed was the Apostle of God. If men had talents that he did not possess he gladly utilised them in his service; hence the victories won for Islam were largely the work of those who had been its prominent opponents. Improvements in his system and suggestions for his campaigns were welcomed, if only no scepticism were expressed as to his access to the divine will; and that access, though so emphatically maintained, was never asserted by him for his own glorification to the detriment of the state. To the state, its growth and maintenance, the whole energy of his being was directed, and for it he was prepared to make almost any sacrifice.

By the transformation of this man of war and statecraft into a saint and visionary, whether by his own act or that of others, the concept of saintliness loses a great deal and the founder of Islam gains very little. In a world that had been worth his winning he found two things, he said, worth enjoying, scent and the fair sex! Islam shows many examples of saintliness that took the same line without the genius for war and diplomacy, and the result has been unedifying.

Those who aided the Prophet received a very different reward from that which fell to the lot of the apostles of the Christian Saviour. One or two died honourably on the battle-field; more lived to become princes and governors, to direct the fate of cities and nations, to pile up wealth greater than Meccah and Medinah together had possessed before Islam, to fill harems rivalling or surpassing in attractiveness those which awaited them in paradise. These persons were the true interpreters of the Prophet's ideas; they followed whither he had led, and perhaps went farther than he, but in the same direction. Such spiritual

value as Islam possesses was the gift of the decried theologians, men who thought the world worth neither winning nor enjoying, and who laboured not for the meat which perisheth.

It is, however, time to leave controversial matter, from which the subjective element cannot be altogether excluded, and terminate with some warm expressions of admiration for the service rendered to students of history by the prince's minute investigations and colossal industry, which must certainly place him in the front rank of contemporary scholars and historians. If, for the period which closes with the Prophet's death, the labours of numerous workers had rendered the bulk of the material generally accessible, for that which begins with the Caliphate of Abu Bekr very much less had been accomplished, and it should be gratefully acknowledged that the prince has so far introduced order where there was confusion, and lucidity where there was obscurity. The causes and the nature of the uprisings in Arabia which followed on the Prophet's death, the order of events which led to their suppression and the commencements of the Islamic conquests in the Byzantine and Persian Empires, are traced with such exhaustive research and critical acumen as seem to leave little for future enquirers to glean. In the essay on the 'General Aspects of the Arab Conquests' the prince leaves special for universal history, and, partly guided by the suggestions of Winckler, endeavours to find for that memorable expansion a place in a series determined by cosmic causes, and in which the rainfall of the Arabian peninsula plays a more important part than the genius of Mohammed or his lieutenants. That essay may be regarded as a final vindication of Arabia as the original home of the Semitic peoples, while giving an adequate account of the phenomena which have caused eminent investigators to seek it elsewhere. But even if some of the prince's results appear to be less convincing, it may be asserted that his work is epoch-making for the study of Islamic history, in which it will occupy a place similar to that of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum' in the study of Semitic epigraphy.

Art. VI.—A FAMOUS ETON HOUSE.

Annals of an Eton House, with some notes on the Evans family. By Major Gambier Parry. London: Murray, 1907.

'ANNALS of an Eton House' is primarily a book for the initiated. It is the history of an Eton boarding-house, which grew and flourished in the hands of a little family dynasty during a period of nearly seventy years. To old members of that house, and indeed to old Etonians generally, the volume is like a miniature 'Iliad.' The forms of heroes stalk through the pages, among a crowd of lesser forms. The book makes no claim to literary scheme or proportion; it is a collection of episodes and scattered reminiscences. In reading it, one is confronted with the fact that, no matter how eminent the writer may be, every one's reminiscences of his schooldays bear a melancholy resemblance to the schoolboy reminiscences of every one else. The points that seem to linger in the mature memory appear to be always the food, the fagging, the floggings, the awful majesty of house-captain and head-master; and when we come to the escapades, confessed with a sort of innocent complacency, we cannot help wondering whether, seen through the golden mist of years, they have not become a little brighter and more adventurous, more edged with prismatic hues, than they were in real life. After all, in looking back on boyhood, it is not really the incidents which we remember—the same and similar incidents befall us still every day and hour—it is the ardent, lively, unwearied, inquisitive spirit in which we made trial of them, and which lent them their brisk savour. The change of quality is in us and not in our environment. And even so, the book has its charm, because it is full of the spirit of boyhood and recollected joy; moreover, to those who can read between the lines, it is full, too, of deep pathos, the pathos of *notre pauvre et triste humanité*—the plaintive entrance upon the world, the ardent growth, the radiant confidence, the brief performance, the bewildered exit. If the book is full of youth and light, it is haunted by such phantoms as Gray, in his Eton Ode, saw beckoning from

the vale of years. It may seem morbid to indulge such reveries, but surely school records of any kind, written page or carved panel, are the most pathetic things in the world, brimming over with the *lacrime rerum*, because of the contrast between high-spirited, ardent, impulsive adolescence—its limitless dreams, its sturdy optimism—and the years that lie beyond, even if they are shadowed by no reflection more serious than that which troubled the spirit of the philosopher who, looking on at a game of cricket, heaved a sigh to think that so many of those bright boys would be turned in so few years into dull members of Parliament!

On the other hand, we have the encouraging and uplifting spectacle of character blossoming and strengthening under wholesome school influences; the timid, weak-kneed boy becoming resolute and strong by the force of an admired example; the morose and suspicious gaining frankness and good-humour in the sunlight of success; and, best sight of all, the simple, wholesome, ingenuous nature making its gracious and tranquil progress, unsuspecting of evil, unconscious of merit, driving meanness and tyranny and all uglier spirits to cover by its pure and serene radiance, and then launching off into the world to do noble and sturdy work, unpraised perhaps, and even unnoticed, but no less beneficently there; or perhaps, on the other hand, to be recognised and crowned, as the world does crown, clumsily and almost by haphazard, some few of those who serve her and do her honour.

So much for the dramatic aspect of the book. But it has a further technical interest to the educationist and the psychologist. Here are the records of a little community with a substantial unity and a vigorous inner life which lasted for nearly seventy years. Evans's was undoubtedly the most independent, the most famous, the most successful, in some ways the most typical of Eton houses during the greater part of its long existence. How did such a community come into being? How was it inspired and governed? Partly, no doubt, it owed its prosperity to good fortune. It had in its best period a succession of boys of high character, athletic distinction, and superabundant energy. The long line of Lyttelton brothers, to say nothing of other honoured names, made the backbone of the house; and it may be said, generally

speaking, that Evans's was exceptionally fortunate in attracting to itself and helping to mould boys of high spirit and sound principle, without the least touch of priggishness. At the same time, even such material as this would have been wasted or spoiled in fussy or unsympathetic hands. The secret of the success of the house lay partly in the material of which it was composed, and partly in the extraordinary tact, perception, and simplicity with which it was guided.

The *dramatis personæ* of the dynasty were five in number—a father, two daughters, a son and a grandson. The founder of the house was William Evans, son and successor of an Eton drawing-master. He was himself an Eton boy, but at seventeen was sent up to London to study medicine. A year later he was imperiously recalled by Dr Keate to act as assistant to his father, whose health had broken down. He appears to have had no technical artistic training; but with characteristic energy he flung himself into the practice and study of art, and eventually became a leading water-colour artist. He was an active, able, vigorous man, fond of authority, with a commanding, if somewhat florid, personality.

A few years later it was suggested to him that he might take a small boarding-house. He had lately lost his wife, and was feeling the bereavement severely. It was his close friend, Bishop Selwyn, then a young private tutor at Eton, who pressed the scheme upon him, partly, no doubt, for Evans's own sake, but partly discerning his real aptitude for a difficult task.

Up to that date the arrangements for boarding boys at Eton had been of the most haphazard kind. The system, like most English institutions, had grown up fortuitously, and without either design or supervision. The masters had nothing to do with the housing of the boys. They were merely lecturers and private tutors, with general disciplinary powers. Practically any one, male or female, respectable enough to pass muster, who had some slight local connexion with, or influence in, Eton, and who was compelled to earn a meagre livelihood in a humiliating way, could get leave to open a boarding-house there. These 'Dames,' as they were called, had no direct, and very little indirect, authority over the boys. A master appeared at stated intervals to

see that the boys were not out of the houses within prohibited hours, and disciplinary complaints could be referred to him; but the boys had such ample opportunities of revenging themselves upon an unpopular Dame that practically very few complaints were made, and the community ruled itself, the Dame winning what influence he or she could by tact and good-humour, or purchasing neutrality by mutual concession, or at worst appealing for forbearance on the ground of infirmity and incompetence. The accommodation was in many cases infamous, the food inadequate, and the supervision merely formal. These methods developed, perhaps, a sort of precocious independence among the boys, and the only astonishing thing is that such a system did not produce even worse horrors and scandals than it did actually produce. The system was seen at its very worst in college itself—the cruelties and abominations of Long Chamber being so notorious that about this same date only two candidates presented themselves for admission to thirty-five vacancies, though an Eton scholarship meant, in most cases, a well-endowed scholarship to follow at King's College, Cambridge, the right of succession to a fellowship, and a degree without examination.

No doubt Selwyn and his friends saw that William Evans was the kind of man who could be trusted to give moral impulse and tactful direction to a Dame's house. Evans himself fell in with the idea, bought the premises and goodwill of a small boarding-house which was vacant, reconstructed the place at great expense, and the ball was set rolling.

A few years later he met with a serious accident in the prime of life. A fall on some rocks, while he was sketching, inflicted injuries from which he never recovered, though he lived to be nearly eighty. His health slowly deteriorated, and this eventually led to his gradual withdrawal from the active superintendence of the house. In his later years he was often abroad, or invisible for weeks together, confined to his bed and disabled alike by pain and the anodynes administered to relieve it. Yet his buoyant temperament continued to reassert itself at intervals. He pursued his artistic work, he gave a general supervision to the boarding-house, he interviewed parents, he conducted the necessary correspondence.

Though the actual direction and government of the house fell gradually into the hands of his two daughters, Annie and Jane, he was still a sort of brooding Olympian force in the background, the very mystery that surrounded his life and movements increasing the awe with which he was regarded. Of late years, indeed, he became so much disabled as to be little more than a benevolent and interesting survival. Indeed, the present writer, who was a boy at Eton for several years before William Evans died, does not recollect having ever heard of him even as the nominal ruler of the house, of which Miss Evans was the very conspicuous superior.

The management of affairs thus by degrees devolved upon the two daughters. The elder, Miss Annie Evans, was a high-minded, nervous, sensitive woman of marvellous courage and great insight into individual character, but never quite able to condone the faults of immaturity, or to bring herself to tolerate the boys' easy standards of conduct. Brave and effective as she was, she was also easily agitated, unnecessarily indignant, excessively vehement. But she had a true and deep devotion to the welfare of the individual boys and the community alike, and she was respected and even feared, though but few boys ever understood her well enough to love her. Boys above all things like settled and mechanical principles in those who have authority over them. They can accommodate themselves to almost any ruler if they only know the exact length of his foot. What they dislike is the mysterious, the unaccountable, the capricious element. There is something very pathetic about the memory of this impetuous, pure-souled, fiery-hearted woman, bound by circumstances to a task which was singularly calculated to exhaust her strength and spirits. Any one who deals with boys has to be ready to make infinite excuse for superficial roughness, hasty thoughtlessness, unconscious barbarity. The only safety is to know that their behaviour is not calculated, that they would not do and say what they do if they had more experience and consideration; and that one can generally count on an ultimate basis of generosity. But Miss Annie Evans was the kind of woman who could not persuade herself that the speech and action of boys was not deliberate and consistent. Yet in spite of the fact

that she did not possess the simple diplomacy and the good-natured *insouciance* which are invaluable in dealing with boys, she was a real force in the house, and helped to mould its spirit; but she died prematurely in 1871, worn out by overwork and anxiety, and the sceptre passed into the hands of Miss Jane Evans, who thus was enabled to furnish an instance of that rare and encouraging spectacle—a human being precisely and exactly adapted to the position she was called upon to fill. Miss Evans, to use the familiar title, was not fitted for a subordinate part, neither would she have been at her ease in a sphere where supremacy required to be based upon intellectual grasp or subtle perception of complex issues. She would, indeed, have unconsciously and benevolently dominated any circle in which her lot was cast; but it was the dealing with boyhood that evoked her best powers and all her powers. She could exert authority peremptorily if it was needed, but she had no wish to make herself felt; she was essentially feminine, yet she was never shocked; she acted instinctively and yet shrewdly; she was patient, long-suffering, compassionate, and hopeful up to the very threshold of indulgence, but the line once crossed she was firm as iron; she had dignity, grace, and charm of manner, investing her very dress, plain to dowdiness, with a sort of appropriate simplicity. She was outspoken, direct, frank, and tender in discourse; her serene air and irradiating smile inspired immediate confidence and friendliness. She had an abundance of mellow, mirthful, and kindly humour, utterly untainted by cynicism, which gave her both the refreshment and the tolerance which are so necessary for easy intercourse with freakish and petulant boyhood. She hardly ever said a memorable thing, but never a thing that was not worth hearing, for her whole personality rushed equably into her talk, like a stream through a sluice. She enjoyed a kind of royal precedence at Eton, which she took as unaffectedly as as she took all the other conventional things of life. She was absorbed heart and soul in the house, its doings and sayings, but what she kept ever in view, at the end of the avenue, was character. All other things were but as the fruits upon the trees that drooped over the bounding walls of the way. She lived in a small patriarchal world, with no intel-

lectual tastes and few outside interests. She had no sort of educational creed; she would not have known the meaning of the word curriculum. The point with her was that the work was there to be done, and the quality of a boy's work and play alike were to her only indications of his character and means of fortifying it.

The house had its ups and downs even in her wise and capable hands; but the net result was that for thirty-five years she was the guiding and inspiring spirit of a little society where life was lived actively and patriotically. She never lost a friend or made an enemy; even those towards whom she acted with the utmost severity would never have accused her of injustice or impatience; while the circle of those who loved and admired and revered her increased year by year. She contrived to combine a deep personal interest in the individual boy with a wise foresight for the interests of the community. She shunted an unsatisfactory boy with a triumphantly transparent diplomacy, while she contrived to inspire her best and most loyal boys with a strong belief in her sagacity and judgment. Never was a delicate task discharged so simply; and, though at times the materials with which she had to deal were too much even for her insight and prudence, she was never discouraged or overclouded or soured. Her religious faith was deep and undogmatic; she had no perplexities and no ulterior motives. She never indulged in morbid regrets, but gathered up the fragments that remained with a serene tranquillity. Her method was to have no method, but to deal with circumstances as they arose and on their merits.

It would be impossible, as well as invidious, to attempt to give an exhaustive list of old members of the house who have attained distinction in different ways; but a few names may be mentioned, as showing the variety of fields in which success has been attained. In public and official life a long record could be compiled, but it may suffice to quote such names as Earl Cadogan, the Earl of Dudley, Lord Welby, Lord Redesdale, Sir Neville Lyttelton, Viscount Esher, the Earl of Plymouth, Mr Herbert Gladstone, Sir Edward Hamilton, Mr Alfred Lyttelton, Mr Henry Hobhouse, Mr Bernard Holland, Earl Percy, and Lord Balcarras; at the Bar, the late Lord Justice

Chitty; in the Church, the late Bishop Selwyn of Melanesia, the late Bishop Arthur Lyttelton of Southampton, the present Bishop of Winchester, Dean Fremantle of Ripon, and the present headmaster of Eton; in music and literature, Sir Hubert Parry, Julian Sturgis, and Howard Sturgis. These are perhaps among the most conspicuous and characteristic names in a long roll of *alumni* who have done good service to their country in many departments of civic life.

It is natural now to ask what were the distinguishing characteristics of this community. It was marked in the first place by an intense and somewhat peculiar patriotism, an immense enthusiasm for the prowess and reputation of the house, rather, it must be admitted, than for its tone and character. Not that the latter was not a matter of concern to right-minded boys. The names of many could be quoted from the pages of the 'Annals' who not only felt a real anxiety for the moral welfare of the house, but would have intervened, at the risk of personal unpopularity, to stop any case of ill-usage or petty tyranny or notorious misdoing. On the other hand, it is rare to find schoolboys band themselves together to secure what is right. It is melancholy, but true, that, among the young, organised association is more often for evil than for good. This is no doubt a primitive and aboriginal thing, based on the elementary instinct of resistance to authority. This instinct lies, it may be said, almost at the base of the schoolboy code of morals. Because it must be borne in mind that the most right-minded boy in the world, if he became aware of practices existing in his house or school which were fraught with possibilities of the worst disaster, and menaced the good name and reputation of the institution, would have a sore struggle with himself before he would bring the facts to the knowledge of the authorities; while the giving of such information, even by one who was liked, respected, and admired, would be universally scouted and resentfully regarded as infamous by the majority. A boy of high character, finding himself in the possession of knowledge of the kind above described, might use his personal influence to stop the objectionable practices, and might possibly induce the monitorial section to take the matter up. But he would probably not appeal to the authorities unless he could be

sure of his information being used with a tact and a discretion which are still to be desiderated among schoolmasters; and, of course, the schoolmaster, at such a moment, is in a very difficult position. His instinct is to act at once; it is horrible to continue to be aware of the existence of evil within a society for which one is responsible, and not only not to interfere, but to behave as though one were ignorant of it. On the other hand, by acting, it is often almost inevitable that he should betray his informant; and it is doubtful whether the welfare of the community has not, on occasions, been too dearly purchased at the cost of the happiness of the individual who desired to promote it.

It may be admitted that at Evans's this danger was greatly minimised both by the vigilance and tact of the authorities, as well as by the sound backbone of upright boys, which, as a rule, sustained the framework of the house. But it is one of the crucial difficulties of school administration, and it is hard to see how a change is to be effected in this respect.

The house then was intensely patriotic, the individuals being ready, in certain departments of school life, notably athletics, to undergo considerable self-sacrifice, and to subordinate personal convenience to the honour of the house.

Next, there prevailed a strong feeling of good-fellowship, though hardly of tolerance. Originality was, no doubt, somewhat at a discount. It was no place for emotional or æsthetic natures; it was not a favourable soil for the growth of ideas. There were, no doubt, at different times in the house boys of pronounced intellectual tastes; but intellectual tastes, in order to be tolerated, required a background of athletic success and conventional prominence. A boy who was modest, friendly, active, kindly, and athletic was sure of respect and popularity. It was an excellent training-ground for the suppression of angularities and eccentricities, of self-conceit and priggishness; it developed a wholesome and manly type, unaffected and sturdy, patient and resolute under ill-success, and not unduly elated by personal triumph. It may be said that, in this respect, there was far more levelling up of character to a rational standard than levelling down of originality to a conventional type.

But the general tone was Spartan rather than Athenian ; bodily vigour was far more liberally rewarded by admiration and respect than any other quality ; and faults of character were undoubtedly more readily condoned in a successful athlete than would have been overlooked in a boy of high intellectual ability. The strong feature of the case was a sense of unity, a sense of sharing in the advantages of a corporate life, with the duty of subordinating personal tastes to the general prosperity. To overlook the immense importance of this would be a deep error, for the young are habitually self-absorbed, and to develop a corporate emotion among them is in itself a result which is big with possibilities of future expansion.

The truth is that the English boarding-school system, artificial as it would appear to any one who had not seen the steps of its development, has grown up spontaneously out of the soil, so to speak, and out of the conditions of social life ; it is not a national growth, because it is essentially a class-product, a feudal thing, and in this lies one of the sources of its weakness ; but it certainly does reflect, though it can hardly be said to modify, the tendencies and preoccupations of the class which it professes to educate. Perhaps, indeed, one of the very reasons why we tend to regard our public-school system with such complacency, is that it is calculated to emphasise and develop, rather than to affect or alter, the national type of character, its virtues and defects alike. And here again is another weakness of the system—that in the well-ordered state, education, in all its aspects, ought to be a conscious progress, an uplifting to a higher plane, an opportunity, a privilege, something which should open a door to larger things. But in England and in the public school this is not sufficiently the case. Boys are, as a rule, very much alive to the social distinction of having been at a first-rate public school, and proud of any athletic success that has fallen to their share ; but they are not generally grateful for the intellectual education they have received, or conscious of having been brought, as a rule, under strong uplifting moral influences ; yet together with this is almost invariably found a deep local attachment, an emotional devotion to the school of which they have been members, a consciousness, so to speak, of advantages gained rather than of benefits received.

It is not necessary here to go in detail into the question of the intellectual education given in public schools. It must suffice to say that it is, generally speaking, based far too much on a standard of scholarship which is to be found, and can only be found, in a small percentage of the boys subjected to the curriculum in use. To put it simply, boys in classical schools are educated as though they were all to go in for honours at the university. It is no doubt true that, [with the class system and without unlimited resources for the payment of teachers, some more or less uniform theory of education must be adopted; boys cannot be taught individually to any great extent. But the question is whether it would not be better to skim the scholarly cream from the school, and treat such boys as specialists, giving to the majority a more general and practical education. The best judges differ as yet on the practical solution of these complex questions, and it certainly would not be desirable to overlook the scholarly element; but even many who duly value it feel that at present, in intellectual matters, the interests of the many are sacrificed to the interests of the few.

And if this be true of intellectual interests it is also true to a certain extent of what may be called broadly moral interests. The object of the boarding-school system is to develop strength and to encourage the strong. It aims at developing leadership; it is in this respect a Homeric system, because it tends to use the common herd as materials for practising prowess upon. The question is whether enough attention is paid to the claims of the weak; for, after all, in schools it is not the wicked but the weak who are numerous. The difficulty, of course, is to distinguish between the boy whose weakness will be braced by public-school methods and the boy who will be demoralised by them. The result, as a rule, is that a certain number of boys get the very best of times, and are turned out strong, capable, unaffected, with all the gifts requisite for dealing with their fellows; a large majority, it may be said, are turned out typical public-school men, conventional, respectable, straightforward, sensible fellows, of a conservative and unreflective type, but able to do their work in the world honestly and satisfactorily. But then, quite apart from the small percentage who have made moral or social shipwreck,

there is a distinct proportion of boys who are in a sense failures, who are either, on the one hand, purely self-absorbed and self-interested, given up wholly to money-getting or amusement, without the least sense of duty or citizenship, without either Christian or even humanitarian principles; such boys as these are by no means necessarily regarded as failures either by their teachers or their companions, but they are failures none the less. On the other hand, there are boys who have, for want of *aplomb*, athletic capacity, ease of manner, gained neither respect nor even toleration; who have been snubbed and disheartened, contemned or simply disregarded; who have left a school entirely undistinguished, and with but few agreeable memories. Then there are boys of real originality and special gifts for whom no opening has been found, boys to whom, perhaps owing to some strain of elderliness or sensitiveness, the atmosphere has never been quite congenial. There are many types and many varieties of each type. But any schoolmaster who has kept his eyes open and his sympathies fresh will know that a considerable percentage of boys at a big public school are sacrificed to the development of the typical boy. How, indeed, can it be otherwise in a community living at such close quarters and with so strong an instinctive standard of taste, so elaborate a code of morals and manners? The question is whether this need be the case, whether there is unnecessary waste, whether it would be possible to regard a school more as a place to fortify and develop the weak than as a place to glorify and crown the strong.

But then there is a very obvious and reasonable defence for all this. It may be said with justice that, after all, school is or should be a preparation for life, and that therefore it should be a microcosmography, a miniature world, where the same principles and motives will be at work, the same tendencies and influences will have play, the same cross-currents and tides will move beneath the surface, as in the larger world. Of course there will be a difference; there will be wise and kindly supervision and direction; older and experienced minds will warn, advise, guide, step in to correct mistakes and to prevent errors being irreparable. But there will be no artificial rearrangement of life, no over-tender screening

and sheltering ; the plants will grow up as in a carefully chosen and well-nurtured garden, not as in a hothouse. Those who argue thus, who defend the existing state of things on this ground, point to the fact that artificial systems almost invariably break down, because contact with the world must come some time ; and the collapse for the feeble nature is all the more complete and disastrous when it is suddenly obliged to act for itself without any shielding arm to rely upon.

No one would for a moment contend that the conduct of boarding-schools has not improved to an almost incredible degree in the last fifty years. Humanity has triumphed ; boys are looked after in physical respects with immense care, comfort has increased, sanitation is jealously supervised, instruction is multiplied, discipline is far more effectively exercised, yet without undue friction, while, at the same time, the independence of the boys, within certain limits, is guaranteed, if not always secured. Again, the type of man who exercises the profession of schoolmaster is incomparably superior to the old type ; the relations of boys and masters, socially at all events, have been greatly extended, though it may be questioned whether, except in a few exceptional instances, a real and frank confidence is ever completely established. The whole system is, in fact, highly efficient—as efficient perhaps as it is ever likely to be.

Fifty years ago a philosopher regarding the English boarding-school system might be excused for thinking it an almost incurably bad system ; indeed, with our enlightened ideals, we find it hard to conceive how a system should have preserved so vital an existence through such obvious and unquestioned abuses. The task of deciding at the present time how far the boarding-school system fulfils our educational needs and feeds our public ideals is a far harder one. It may frankly be granted that, though a good many boys pass through boarding-schools without any particular intellectual improvement or intellectual deterioration, they are at least physically and morally braced for actual life. But on the other hand, there is some ground for thinking that, just as the standard of intellectual education is based on the requirements of the scholar rather than on the requirements of the average citizen, so the moral training is based on the aim of

developing leaders rather than of training the rank-and-file. The success of a school is not to be measured by the fact that it has produced a few heroes, but by the fact that it has produced a large number of capable, active, and dutiful citizens. It cannot be said that the public schools do not do this ; but it is conceivable that they might produce more if this were more their avowed and deliberate aim.

It may then be admitted that the chief deficiencies of the boarding-school system are three in number : (1) an atmosphere unfavourable to intellectual interests ; (2) the withdrawal of home influences ; (3) the danger of encouraging and increasing class prejudices. For the first deficiency, it may be said, the boarding-school itself cannot be held to be wholly responsible ; if all the boys in a boarding-school came from homes in which there was a strong and unaffected intellectual element, the same tendencies would no doubt reappear in the school. But while the principle of boarding-schools is to allow the boys the largest possible amount of liberty and independence, and while a considerable majority of boys come from homes where the intellectual element is in no way conspicuous, the tone of conversation, if not of thought, will be set by the most vigorous and unabashed section of the boys, who will naturally be the boys of conspicuous physical activity. Behind this too lies the far-reaching shamefacedness of the Anglo-Saxon, who holds it a kind of indecency to speak frankly in public or to write of what he holds most serious and most dear. But where the boarding-schools are to blame is in not having a more deliberate aim in the matter. The masters—who, after all, are Anglo-Saxons too, it must be remembered—might perhaps make more of an effort to disseminate intellectual interests ; yet the tone too often adopted by a schoolmaster when discoursing of some unprofessional subject of an intellectual kind, in which it may be he feels a sincere interest, is a gruff jerkiness, as though he were himself half ashamed of having such interests at all. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the curriculum aims sufficiently at width, stimulus or modernity ; it seems rather to be framed to develop accuracy and precision by stern mental gymnastic. It does not lay itself out to attract or please or win ; and the result of this is that after a boy has parted with his early gay docility, his

sense of duty and his desire to improve tend alike to fail him. But it is impossible here to treat this side of the subject in detail. Let the 'Annals' themselves bear witness, by their unconscious frankness, how comparatively small a part the intellectual element played in the community-life of the house.

The withdrawal of home influence is a thing to which we are so much used in England that it is a little difficult to analyse it; moreover, it may be said that, in the classes where this early withdrawal does not take place, there is not a conspicuous superiority in humanity and virtue among the children. On the other hand, if one tries to imagine a state in which the day-school system had long and universally prevailed, it would seem to citizens trained on such lines an altogether preposterous, monstrous, and unnatural thing to separate children at so early an age from their homes, and to substitute for domestic influences a strict, if humane, barrack system. Such a method would seem to contradict and set at nought the best and most sacred natural instincts. Such a theory of education could only be accounted for on the supposition that it was intended to produce the frankest militarism. And it is probably true that it is much more possible for a generation brought up on the boarding-school system to contemplate the institution of a day-school system, than it would be to a nation exclusively educated at day-schools to contemplate the introduction of the boarding-school. But, as a matter of fact, the boarding-school system is not, at all events nowadays, as rigorous and Spartan as would appear. The danger of withdrawing home influence is the danger of diminishing emotional motives for conduct, and that is, to boys of a certain temperament, a serious loss. It is true that in a boarding-school the emotional element is to a certain extent driven out of sight, but it is by no means driven out of existence; and it is possible that a boy whose home affections are very strong may have the emotional influences, which home ties exert, accentuated rather than diminished by compulsory absence from familiar scenes. On the other hand, granted a home harmoniously united, pervaded by strong family affection, and indulgently yet firmly ruled, it cannot be pretended that a boy does not lose by being taken out of the range

of such influences, except for the brief periods when he returns to be entertained as a privileged guest rather than to live the common life of home.

The question of class prejudice is a difficult one to touch, because it is so deeply rooted in various sections of the British nation that many of its victims would loudly disclaim its very existence. Yet we are, as the Americans say, a deferential people, and have a strong sense of due subordination; the feudal feeling is so instinctive in what, for convenience, may be called the upper class—though it is fast dwindling elsewhere—that it is beyond the reach of reason and argument. The present writer once heard an eloquent sermon at Eton, when the preacher produced, with apt rhetorical emphasis and attractive delay, a maxim of conduct which, he said, represented the crystallised experience of the school life of a well-known Etonian. 'I learnt at Eton,' this notable personage had said, 'to know my place and to keep it.' No more pharisaical and anti-democratic motto could be framed; it contains the distilled essence of centuries of class prejudice. The author of the saying, if he had commented upon it orally, would no doubt have explained that the first part of his maxim was meant to reflect a spirit of modest subordination; but who is more conscious of superiority than the man who has clearly defined his inferiority? It is true that the Manchester unemployed have lately been allowed to address the Eton boys in School Yard. Perhaps this might enlarge a thoughtful boy's horizon; but unless the occasion and its significance were to be very tellingly expounded to the boys by some one whose opinion they respected, it would be just as likely to confirm them in the sense of separation. It may be true that class feeling is ineradicable and that it has practical advantages, but it cannot be defended on philosophical or rational, and still less on Christian, grounds.

The ideal system would seem to be one where boys of all classes attended the same day-schools and fraternised both in and out of school hours; they would thus not lose the influences of home, while, on the other hand, if *savoir-faire* and the power of entering frankly into relations with other men is held to be the one chief merit of the class boarding-school, the same lessons could be learnt

more, rather than less, effectively in the school where no distinction of class prevailed. The suggestion will appear to many in the light of a fantastic and not particularly desirable dream. Yet it is an ideal which has been realised in Scotland, to say nothing of America. And, impracticable as it may at present appear, there are signs that the tide is beginning to shift and stir in that direction.

The attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to criticise frankly the whole boarding-school system from an idealistic point of view. An impression of hostility is perhaps inseparable from the practice of outspoken analysis. But the writer of these pages would be sorry to end by leaving that impression. He is strongly of opinion that the best and wisest policy in all cases, whether political or religious or educational, is to see that the old runs smoothly into the new, and to be careful not to part hastily with old inheritances of worth and dignity because they do not conform exactly to the dreams of reformers. There is no doubt whatever about the grandeur and the stateliness of these great places of education, their ennobling associations, their venerable traditions, their famous annals. If these influences do not play a direct part in the development of the average boy, they at least give him a dim sense of the presence of glory and renown. There is no doubt of the devotion the public schools inspire, nor of the manly, spirited, modest, serviceable type of character that they succeed, in countless instances, in developing. The two great dangers which threaten them are, the illiberality of their curricula, and the esoteric moral standard which tends to prevail, or rather to recur, among them. It is in these two respects that the parental world requires to be reassured. Both subjects are matters of anxious concern to many of those who hold the practical responsibility in their hands; but, on the other side, there are reactionary forces which exert a strong influence over would-be reformers. A headmaster who wishes to try experiments meets with opposition from the boys themselves, who are the most conservative and routine-loving of creatures; from his staff, because schoolmasters as they grow older tend as a rule to become cautious, unadventurous, prudential, and perhaps a little cynical;

from parents, who are swayed largely by the unconsidered utterances of their boys, and from old members of the school, in whom devotion as often as not takes the form of an exaggerated worship of the *status quo*. Yet such men as Arnold and Thring succeeded in infusing into the schools they ruled a spirit which rose superior even to local traditions.

There is, at all events, no doubt of one thing, that unselfish emotions, such as patriotism and national honour, are the mainspring of character. Excellently equipped and efficient as the best day-schools are, they do not produce that fervent devotion, that subtle freemasonry of common traditions, which animates the members, past and present, of a great boarding-school. The question is how not to lose that spirit and yet how to amend confessed deficiencies. If the deficiencies are inseparable from the system, then a choice will have to be made, for the problem is both complex and delicate—how to raise the intellectual tone without inducing a precocious self-consciousness; how to fortify the moral standard without developing a premature and oppressive sense of responsibility; how to direct energy into the right channels without sacrificing the sense of personal liberty; how to govern effectively, yet leave the community its conscious independence. Such are the problems which must be grappled with if we are to preserve the splendid inheritance of inspiration and tradition which constitute the essence of the public school spirit.

Art. VII.—RECENT NAPOLEONIC LITERATURE.

1. *The Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. ix: Napoleon. Cambridge: University Press, 1906.
2. *Napoleonic Studies*. By J. Holland Rose. London: Bell, 1904.
3. *Napoleon's Last Voyages*. With introduction and notes. By J. Holland Rose. London: Fisher Unwin, 1906.
4. *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*. By R. M. Johnston. London: Macmillan, 1904.
5. *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*. By H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley. London: Lane, 1908.
6. *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany*. By H. A. L. Fisher. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
7. *Bonapartism*. By H. A. L. Fisher. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.
8. *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*. Par Albert Sorel. Vols. VI, VII, VIII. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1903-4.
9. *L'Avènement de Bonaparte*. Par Albert Vandal. Vol. II. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907.
10. *Napoléon à Bayonne*. Par E. Ducéré. Bayonne: Hourquet, 1897.

To the stream of publications on Napoleonic history there is no end. It is not only in the land which he reconstructed that

‘Every year and month sends forth a new one.’

In the English language there will soon be as many monographs on Napoleon as there are German treatises on Hamlet. There does not seem to be any other example of a historical character obtaining such a literary hold on the imaginations of men so soon after the achievement of his work. The whole career of Napoleon is so near us that we have still among us a member of the House of Lords whose father was only two years younger than Napoleon's mother, the present Lord Leicester's father having been born in 1752 and Letizia Ramolino in 1750. Yet Napoleon has passed into the ranks of the immortals as though the period he dominated were as far away as the Renaissance or even the early Roman Empire.

But the surpassing greatness of Napoleon and his

swift apotheosis would not have produced such an abundant flood of literature in any other generation than our own. Specialism, invented in the laboratory, has invaded the library, and the historian, in the old sense of the word, is giving way to the monographer. Although Napoleon's public life lasted less than twenty years, from 1795 to 1815, and though he was invested with sovereign power for barely fifteen years, so many-sided was his genius, so numerous and diverse were the scenes in which it was manifested that the narration of his several achievements appeals peculiarly to the skill of the modern specialist. It may be doubted if the new method will be as conducive to the education and culture of the community as was the old. The reign of William III, as recounted by Macaulay in his 'History of England,' is a good example of the old style. We hear much nowadays of its faults—its bias, its inaccuracies, its high-colouring, its incompleteness. Yet it is probable that, thanks to Macaulay's narrative, a larger number of the English-speaking public are conversant with the reign, the character, and the policy of William of Orange than with the corresponding features in the career of Napoleon Bonaparte, in spite of the multitude of English works on the latter subject. No doubt to William III is due 'the origin of our present form of government,' as Lord John Russell said in a Whiggish lecture he addressed to the late Queen, as recorded in her recently published letters. But Napoleon is nearer to us by more than a century; middle-aged men of to-day have conversed with eye-witnesses of his work, which still forms the basis of the administrative government in several countries of Europe. Yet, excepting to the student or the candidate for examination, the real work and character of Napoleon are little known in English-speaking countries, where the circulation of printed matter has chiefly developed.

The specialising of history is not likely to popularise its study in an age when the most palpable result of the diffusion of what in England is called 'education' is the reading of cheap newspapers, magazines and novels. Subjects such as 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' or 'The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy,' which are the titles of two of the works cited at the head of this

article, cannot appeal to a large number of even cultivated readers, though they are most instructive to serious students of the history and development of the States of modern Europe. The ordinary reader of intelligence who wants to become acquainted with the annals of the second phase of the French Revolution, and with its effects on the civilised world, will be more grateful for the comprehensive volume which forms the ninth part of the 'Cambridge Modern History,' and is entitled 'Napoleon.' 'The Napoleonic Period' would perhaps have been a more appropriate title, as some of the sections treat of events which have no direct connexion with the personality which dominated Europe from the end of the eighteenth century until the summer of 1815.

The difficulty of editing such a volume, the work of no fewer than sixteen competent writers of various nationalities, is so obvious that we will say nothing about it. A criticism which its perusal calls forth can be made without offence as it may be applied to all the histories of the world since the invention of letters, from Herodotus to Tacitus, from Saint-Simon, who sometimes devotes a dozen pages to the incidents of an afternoon, to Gibbon, who has been known to sum up the events of a reign in a few lines. The fault in question is lack of proportion, which, difficult to avoid in the work of a single hand, is almost unavoidable in a compilation written by a company. At the same time certain examples of it might have been corrected here by a more vigorous editing of the 771 large pages allotted to historical narrative. No doubt in a comprehensive text-book it was necessary to give a succinct account of the history of Great Britain and its dependencies during the Napoleonic period. But one-ninth of the available space was excessive to devote to that subject, and the volume consequently presents some anomalies. In a work entitled 'Napoleon,' the wedding of the Emperor to Marie Louise is disposed of in fewer lines than the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1795, before Napoleon's public career had begun. The interesting incidents at Compiègne and at the Louvre after Napoleon met his bride, are passed over in silence, as are Cardinal Fesch and his remarks on the marriage, though Lady Jersey and her relations with the royal British couple

are needlessly alluded to. An attack upon George III, on his way to open Parliament in 1795, 'with a pebble or a bullet from an air-gun,' is described with greater detail than the attempt to assassinate the First Consul in 1800 in the rue Saint-Nicaise. In the same way, while the three months' sojourn of Napoleon at Bayonne in 1808, which was the turning-point in his career, is indistinctly slurred over, and while no reference is made to Napoleon's dramatic adventure on the night of March 30, 1814, when the Empire practically came to an end, pages are given to ministerial conflicts in England and to circumstances attending the foundation of our Australian colonies which have no manifest connexion with the career of Napoleon or even with the Napoleonic wars. If it is difficult for editors to regulate the contributions of a numerous band of collaborators, it is almost impossible for each several writer to be aware of what his fellow contributors have set down or omitted, and their mutual ignorance of one another's prose may cause inconvenience to their readers. Thus the author of the last chapter, entitled 'Saint Helena,' mentions, among 'the episodes in Napoleon's career which had proved most repugnant to British opinion, the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, the death of Captain Wright,' etc. Now every one who has ever heard of Napoleon knows something about the Duc d'Enghien, and his murder is mentioned twice in the 'Cambridge Modern History.' But beyond the words quoted above we cannot find any other reference in the volume to the unlucky British officer and conspirator who came to a violent end a week after the capitulation of Ulm in 1805. His name is known only to experts in the history of the period, and its mention without explanation must be perplexing to students at the universities, for whose use this work is primarily intended.

The foregoing criticisms do not detract from the opinion we have of this volume. Its usefulness, however, would be greatly enhanced if it were supplemented by a good index, the one which is appended to it being evidently the work of a person whose acquaintance with the art of index-making and with the history of the Napoleonic period are on a par. But one ought to be thankful for relative mercies. If the index of the

'Cambridge Modern History' is bad, it is better than no index at all, as is the case with all the French works before us. The French are admirable index-makers when they take the trouble to construct one; but not one in twenty of their works of history, philosophy or memoirs is supplied with any other aid to reference than a meagre 'Table analytique' at the head of each chapter. The usefulness to students of a monumental work such as that of M. Sorel, with its eight stout volumes, is impaired owing to it not being furnished with an index. For the purposes of collation a good index is indispensable, as the most diligent reader of modern texts is incapable, for lack of time, of checking with his own unaided notes a large proportion of their parallel passages. Within the limits of a short article there is only space sufficient for the comparison of a few of the versions of the authorities whose works we have cited, and collation on this small scale can be effected without the help of the skilled index-maker.

It is a commonplace that strict accuracy in historical fact is most difficult of achievement. M. Vandal, one of the ablest and most painstaking of the historians whose works we have cited at the head of this article, indicates the difficulty in his second volume of 'L'Avènement de Bonaparte'—a work which, with all its learning, is as agreeable to read as a book of memoirs. In describing the projects of the First Consul in the spring of 1800, when war had become inevitable owing to Austria's intention, not only to keep Northern Italy, which it had won back in 1799, but to reconquer the Low Countries, M. Vandal discusses Bonaparte's anticipations of the campaign which was to end with Marengo. He comes to the conclusion that the First Consul always intended to make Italy the scene of his fateful effort. But he points out that the chief authorities on the subject, most of whom were soldiers and contemporary spectators of the events, were divided in opinion. According to Mathieu Dumas and Jomini, the First Consul's original idea was to make Germany the principal seat of war. Thiers, however, opined that Bonaparte never intended to go anywhere but to Italy; while old Kellermann—whose title of Duc de Valmy was the most revolutionary of the Imperial creations (which did not prevent its holder becoming a Royalist peer in

1814)—in his 'Histoire de la Campagne de 1800,' declared that Bonaparte had turned over both projects in his mind. But it is not only history a century old of which it is impossible to check infallibly the accuracy. The undisputed truth about the Ems telegram, which was the spark to fire the conflagration of 1870, is still a matter of controversy. Various versions are accepted of the real cause of Gambetta's death in 1882—*crime passionnel* or misadventure. Even events which took place in the eyes of the public within the memory of the present generation are diversely related, such as the incidents attending the fall of Jules Ferry in 1885, some chroniclers describing how he nearly lost his life at the hands of a furious mob, which tried to drive him into the Seine, while others declare that, after the stormy sitting in the Chamber which ended his career, he went tranquilly home under normal conditions. Perhaps in the future history will have to be written on the system of the Abbé de Montgaillard. His 'Histoire de France depuis la fin du règne de Louis XVI jusqu'à l'année 1825' appeared in 1827, and is an attempt to chronicle day by day the events of the Revolution in all its phases and of the first ten years of the Restoration. It was a task too huge for one hand to accomplish, though the nine volumes (which include an excellent index) form a very useful work of reference. Yet, even if history in the future were to be written in the form of a gigantic transcript of daily events, mechanically fabricated by an army of specialists, after the manner of the Oxford Dictionary, it is not certain that strict accuracy of fact would be obtained; for specialists are as prone to the human failings of carelessness and inadvertency as the Froudes and the Michelets of the past, though they have less excuse.

The most important of the works we have cited is M. Sorel's 'L'Europe et la Révolution Française,' and the lamented author is one of the most accurate of modern historians, and is unequalled for his reliance on original authorities. In his early volumes he makes several references to Lord Gower, the last British ambassador to Louis XVI. In his chapter on 'Relations extérieures après le 10 Août,' he records that a week after the overthrow of the monarchy the British Government ordered Lord Gower to ask for his passports. This was on August 17, 1792. But in 1805 he introduces us again to

'Lord Gower.' After the mission of Novosiltsof to London in the first year of the French Empire, to arrange a treaty between Russia and England, Sorel relates that Pitt 'envoya des pleins pouvoirs à Lord Gower, ambassadeur en Russie, pour signer ce traité.' This was the famous treaty of April 11, 1805 (ratified on July 20 of the same year), under which peace was to be restored to Europe, while Hanover, North Germany, and Italy were to be evacuated by the French, and the independence of Holland, and of the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, to be guaranteed by the allies—all of which projects failed to be realised. In 1807 'Lord Gower' reappears frequently in Sorel's narrative. It was after Tilsit when, as the result of the Russian defeat at Friedland on June 14, the Tsar Alexander had entered into a treaty of alliance with his conqueror, Napoleon, all the conditions of which were not published. The Tsar had been followed to St Petersburg by Savary, whose mission it was to keep him up to the mark of his promises at Tilsit, while in Russian society the British ambassador was the most important and popular personage of the day, by reason of the strong anti-French feeling among all classes from the Empress-mother downwards. So, from July to November 1807, when Savary announced to Napoleon that the British ambassador had received his passports, the latter played a most important part at St Petersburg. But Sorel calls him all the time 'Lord Gower,' and there is nothing in his pages to suggest to the French reader that this is not the Lord Gower who, as ambassador to France, saw the monarchy fall—nor indeed to the English reader, unless he has old Foreign Office lists and the Peerage at his finger-ends. In the latter case he knows that our last ambassador to Louis XVI became Marquess of Stafford on the death of his father in 1803; in the former case that our ambassador at St Petersburg, when Napoleon had become Emperor, was Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (created Viscount and Earl Granville in 1815 and 1833), step-brother of the other. Whether Sorel was aware of this we shall never know. Had there been a scientific index of his fine work, made under his supervision, he might have pointed out that there were two persons whom he called 'Lord Gower,' for he was an accurate man. But no Frenchman ever understood the usage

of English titles any more than English writers can avoid blundering over the use of the French nobiliary *particule*—as often shown in the English works before us. Sorel is better at English nomenclature than are many French historians, though he does call the British agent at Copenhagen 'Jakson.' He is in this respect a pattern of accuracy compared with another historian of the First Empire, M. Houssaye, whose '1814' and '1815' contain many confusing mistakes in the spelling of English names.

Our courtesy titles are always a stumbling-block for French writers, as M. Hanotaux has shown in his recent volume on a later period, where, to the perplexity of his readers, he mixes up Earl Russell and Lord Odo Russell by calling them both Lord Russell. But there is little excuse for English writers who fall into similar errors; and Dr J. H. Rose, who is an industrious writer, to whom diplomatic archives are familiar, joins with Sorel in misleading his readers as to the identity of the British ambassador to Russia in the early days of the First Empire. In matters of nomenclature he is an adept, and sometimes takes praiseworthy pains to distinguish homonymous persons. Thus, in his valuable 'Napoleonic Studies,' he relates his discovery at the Foreign Office of 'probably the first description of the condition of Egypt penned by a British official.' It was signed 'William Hamilton,' and Dr Rose observes that the ordinary enquirer might suppose it to be the work of 'our ambassador at Naples, husband of the more famous Emma. But the writer was not that indulgent envoy, neither was he the other celebrated William Hamilton, the philosopher; he was Lord Elgin's secretary.' Yet, though the biographer of Napoleon is not to be deceived about the identity of different William Hamiltons, he lays himself open to the imputation that he imagines that the British ambassador to Russia associated with the Treaty of April 11, 1805, was either the Lord Gower who was ambassador to France in 1792, or else his youthful son, who became Lord Gower in 1803, and who was—though Dr Rose may be unaware of it—attached to the British Embassy at St Petersburg after Tilsit. In the chapter entitled 'Pitt's plans for the settlement of Europe,' Dr Rose repeats three times—so it cannot be

a slip of the pen—that 'Lord Gower' was British ambassador at St Petersburg in 1805, and the mistake is the more curious as he describes the chapter as 'gleanings of research in that little worked field . . . the archives of the British Foreign Office.' He does not, however, follow Sorel in his error of making 'Lord Gower' ambassador in 1807 after Friedland and Tilsit. In his chapter of the 'Cambridge Modern History' entitled 'The Napoleonic Empire at its height,' which includes 1807, he correctly describes our ambassador to Russia as Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, and he does so again in his interesting account of 'A British Agent at Tilsit,' though, in his 'Canning and Denmark in 1807,' he gives him the amazing title of 'Lord Leveson-Gower.' It surely cannot be that Dr Rose supposes that the ambassador to France in 1792 and the ambassador to Russia in 1805 were identical, and that a new representative of England came on the scene in 1807. It is in no hypercritical spirit that we have called attention to this confusion. Just as we have applauded Dr Rose for his care in distinguishing his William Hamiltons, so we hope he will be grateful to us for indicating this mistake. It is the duty of a specialist to be accurate in matters of minute detail, and it happens that there are few periods in history in which there are so many homonymous minor actors as in the Napoleonic. Between Brumaire and Waterloo there were two General Dumas (one of whom we have mentioned), two Metternichs (kinsmen in diplomacy, as the Gowers), five Latour-Maubourgs, four Montesquioux, and as many Montmorencys, all of whom took greater or less part in public life, with a little army of Dupins, Lebruns, and Lefebvres.

The 'British Agent at Tilsit,' mentioned above, has excited much interest among our amateurs of the Napoleonic period. Last year the subject occupied many columns of the 'Athenæum,' and more recently it has called forth a spirited controversy in 'Notes and Queries.' One of the provisions of the treaty which resulted from the interviews of Napoleon and the Tsar at Tilsit, in June 1807, was a secret article stipulating that Sweden and Denmark should be constrained by France and Russia to close their ports against England. Our Foreign Minister, Canning, got information of the secret convention and

forestalled it by sending a fleet to Denmark, which bombarded Copenhagen in the first days of September. Canning was severely criticised by the Opposition, both before and after the opening of the next session of Parliament, for having acted with craft and inhumanity towards 'a friendly and unsuspecting nation'; and before Parliament met the Government put forth an explanation of its action in a declaration dated 'Westminster, 1807,' and issued as a reply to a manifesto of the Tsar after Lord Granville Gower had been handed his passports. In this important document—no notice of which we have observed in the books before us—after a long narrative of the circumstances of the Peace of Tilsit, it is said:

'His Majesty (George III) feels himself under no obligation to offer any apology or atonement to the Emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.'

The questions which agitate our Napoleonic experts are: (1) Who was the agent who brought the news of the secret convention to the British Government? (2) How did he get his information? (3) On what dates did he start from the seat of war and arrive in England? The importance of the last is because the orders were given to the fleet on July 19; so it is sought to prove that, before that date, Canning had in his hands the secret information of what had passed between the two Emperors at Tilsit on June 25, and that he did not act wantonly in despatching the fleet. There is a Foreign Office tradition that the information was furnished to the British Government by the vacillating Tsar himself. In certain contemporary narratives it is said that the informant was the well-known secret agent and pamphleteer who called himself Count d'Antraigues, whose services were rewarded by a pension from the British Government. Alison adopts this theory, which is objected to on the ground that d'Antraigues was, at the time of Friedland and Tilsit, already in England, where subsequently he was murdered. Most of the recent English writers on the subject give the credit of the espionage to Colin Alexander Mackenzie, who

certainly was on the spot at Tilsit and travelled to London very soon afterwards. Two of his kinsmen, General R. Mackenzie, R.A., and the Rev. E. C. Mackenzie, who is still alive, declare respectively, from family tradition, that Mackenzie overheard the conversation between the Emperors on the raft moored in the Niemen, concealed out of sight, or disguised as a cossack in attendance. Dr Rose seems to believe that Mackenzie was the bearer of the news—the general purport of the secret articles, not the actual text—but suggests he got it from General Bennigsen, with whom he was on dining terms, and who, having commanded the Russian army with inefficiency at Friedland, resented the blame laid upon him by the Tsar. Dr Rose quotes in an appendix a document which describes Bennigsen as of ‘Hanoverian extraction,’ and we may add that, born a subject of George II in Hanover, he retired thither after the wars, so the fact of his nationality may have disposed him the more to betray his Russian master to the government of George III. The assassin of the Tsar Paul would not have much scruple in playing false to the son whom he had helped to put on the throne six years before. The letter which Dr Rose publishes from Mackenzie to Lord Granville Gower, dated June 23, 1807, on which he bases his belief that it was Bennigsen who gave the information, would be infinitely more interesting if a few notes were added relating to the people mentioned. In the second line of the letter, for instance, ‘Young Talleyrand made his appearance.’ Why does not Dr Rose explain the presence of this guest of General Bennigsen, and tell us something about him? Another omission of Dr Rose is that he does not state clearly the precise official position of three different agents of the British Government at Copenhagen during this critical period, Jackson, Garlike, and Brooke Taylor. A perusal of his two articles, ‘Canning and Denmark in 1807,’ and ‘A British Agent at Tilsit,’ leaves a confusing impression of the dates when those three diplomatists were exercising their functions. Moreover, he repeatedly speaks of ‘Mr Garlike, British Ambassador at Copenhagen,’ and one so familiar with the Foreign Office archives ought not to use the term ‘ambassador’ in this loose journalistic manner. A conscientious student, with some knowledge of the diplomatic

hierarchy, might be misled into thinking that, for some special reason, the British envoys to Denmark in 1807 were accorded ambassadorial rank. It was to prevent confusion of this kind that the Congress of Vienna issued what are known as 'The Regulations of June 9, 1815,' dividing diplomatic agents into three classes; in spite of which ambassadors of and to minor Powers still abound in the newspapers of Europe.

We now come to the question of the dates connected with the conveyance of the news of the secret convention at Tilsit to the British Government. In the 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. ix, c. viii, Mr H. W. Wilson writes:

'On July 19, eleven days after the signing of the secret articles [at Tilsit], the resolution to seize the Danish fleet was formed, and on July 26 Admiral Gambier sailed from Yarmouth.'

In chapter xi of the same volume Dr Rose puts differently the date of Canning's resolve:

'On July 16 Canning received important despatches which warned him that dangers were ahead. One of these was from an officer, probably a Russian, describing . . . the friendly bearing of the two Emperors . . . on the raft at Tilsit. The second was from Garlike, giving bad news that had come through General Clinton. . . . The third despatch was from Mackenzie, a British agent, who had dined with General Bennigsen at Tilsit on June 22, and heard news as to the Tsar's ratification of the armistice and the general wish for peace. These tidings, coupled with the notorious partiality of the Danish Prince Royal for the French cause, caused Canning to take a step of great importance. On that same day, July 16, he appointed Brooke Taylor British Minister at Copenhagen in the room of Garlike, and instructed the new envoy to inform the Danish Government that a large British fleet would at once be sent to the Sound. . . . As yet, however, Canning seems to have entertained no thought of employing forcible measures against Denmark. That drastic resolution was apparently formed on or shortly before July 22, when he had had news "directly from Tilsit." . . . The source of this news is unknown. A British agent, Mackenzie, and Dr Wylie, were probably the only Englishmen at Tilsit at the time of the interview; and Mackenzie did not arrive in London until July 23, when he brought despatches from Lord Granville Leveson-Gower at Memel. . . . The news which reached Canning on July 21 must have come from a Russian.'

The date on the title-page of this volume is 1906. Now in his 'British Agent at Tilsit'—originally written in 1901, but republished in his 'Napoleonic Studies,' and presumably revised, in 1904—Dr Rose says, 'It is certain that Mackenzie left for Memel on June 25, and that he forthwith set out for London.' He also speaks of 'Mackenzie's interview with Canning on July 21.' So, as in the 'Cambridge Modern History' he says that Mackenzie did not arrive in London till July 23, it is clear that between 1904 and 1906 Dr Rose changed his mind as to the date of the British agent's arrival, and also as to the source of the information which induced Canning to take his much-criticised resolution.

A writer in 'Notes and Queries' (December 14, 1907), who does not seem acquainted with Dr Rose's writings, though familiar with the Foreign Office archives, says that Mackenzie 'left on 26 June with Leveson-Gower's despatch, and arrived in London on 16 July.' He and Dr Rose differ as to the date of Mackenzie's arrival, though they approximately agree as to the date of his departure. We venture to think they are both wrong as to when he started. In 1890 an interesting volume was published called 'Stafford House Letters,' edited by Lord Ronald Gower. The letters are mainly from the editor's father, subsequently second Duke of Sutherland, addressed to his mother, Lady Stafford, who, as Lady Gower, was the last ambassadress whom Marie Antoinette knew, and they include forty letters written when he was a young *attaché* first to Lord Morpeth's mission to Prussia, then to Lord Hutchinson's, and finally to that of his uncle, Lord Granville Gower, mentioned above. The first letter of this series is dated a week after Jena, in October 1806, and the last from Petersburg in November 1807, when 'that d—d fool, the Emperor of Russia, has thought fit to comply with Bonaparte's commands' by a rupture of diplomatic relations with England. He was at or near Memel, constantly in the intimate society of the King and Queen of Prussia during the first eight months of 1807. He was the real 'Lord Gower' of this period, and his letters are of remarkable historic value considering the youth of the writer. They throw a more vivid light on some of the events before and after Friedland than do the despatches in the Foreign Office archives or the

correspondence of Savary, of which M. Sorel makes good use. Lord Gower throws some light, too, on the movements of the despatch-carriers from Memel to London, as he used them to send his own letters home. On June 24, 1807, he writes :

'Mr Harvey, Lord Hutchinson's private secretary, is to leave Memel—perhaps in an hour, perhaps in a week—so that I must prepare, as I do not mean to lose so good an opportunity.'

The messenger was evidently only waiting for the impending news of what was to occur the next morning on the raft. The letter also announces the arrival of Lord Granville Gower and ends with a postscript,

'June, Friday. The armistice has been concluded. The Emperor and King have met Bonaparte on the river. . . . We do not know the result. I suppose we shall be going to Petersburg, as the Emperor will probably not stay while negotiations are going on. Harvey is just going.'

The last words may be useful to Dr Rose, as he has recorded that 'Captain Harvey left Memel before June 22,' though on another page of the same paper he says that Harvey left Memel for Copenhagen on June 26 in the cutter 'Princess of Wales.' Dr Rose's latter version is corroborated by Lord Gower's postscript, as, if we are not mistaken, the Friday after June 24, 1807, was the 26th of that month. A week later he gives some more information on the subject of communication with England.

'Memel, July 3rd, 1807. Well, Bonaparte and the Emperor are both at Tilsit, where the former, I believe, does everything in his own way, and . . . our great ally (Alexander) will do very little for us. They say they have sent from Tilsit a messenger overland to London.'

This is interesting, indicating that a despatch went from Memel to London between that carried by Harvey and, as we shall presently see, that which Mackenzie took. What strikes one in reading these letters is the complete liberty enjoyed by the English on this frontier land of Prussia and Russia in the very presence of Napoleon and his army, just after he had become successively the master of Prussia and of Russia. As Lord Gower writes in this letter,

It is rather odd that while the King [of Prussia], etc., are living with Bonaparte fourteen miles from hence, we should be dining or drinking tea with her [Queen Louisa] every day here.'

For our present purposes the concluding words of the letter of July 3 are the most important.

'A Mr Mackenzie who came with Lord Granville will take this. He was to have been with the army to send information from thence, but as unfortunately he can be no longer useful there he is going back.'

From this it seems that Dr Rose was mistaken when he wrote that Mackenzie left for London immediately after June 25. It should be noted for the unwary specialist, if ever he makes use of these letters of Lord Gower, that when the young *attaché* refers to his uncle as 'Lord Granville,' it does not mean that that was his title in the peerage of the United Kingdom, which he assumed only in 1815, but is only short for Lord Granville Gower.

We wish we could linger over these letters, which are of superior human interest to the official despatches sent from the Baltic. In them 'Garlike' and 'Jackson' (M. Sorel's 'Jakson') are not mere signatures to diplomatic documents, but are living Englishmen. Moreover, the young writer throws important light on the causes of historical events. Thus he writes how, on arriving at Memel on June 12, 'the first person I saw was the Queen . . . and on Saturday [the eve of Friedland] I and one or two English that came with Lord Granville accompanied her to the 'Astræa' frigate, where we were all very sick and very jolly.' On July 10 Lord Gower relates how 'the visit which the poor Queen has been obliged to make to Bonaparte has been a useless humiliation'—the well-known incident of the unhappy Queen consenting to dine twice with Napoleon at Tilsit, being led vainly to believe that she might thus obtain better terms for Prussia. The young *attaché* goes on to explain the motive of Napoleon's resolve to give the Queen a wanton personal mortification.

'Do you remember an expedition to the "Astræa" frigate that I told you of? About a week ago we made a second, when Lord Granville, etc., were of the party. Soon after Bonaparte said to the King, "While we negotiate here, and you are

requesting of me to give you back some provinces, the queen, with a party of English, goes on board an English frigate. If she chooses to have them for her friends, let them help her; I'll not give up an inch."

On a more important point of history Dr Rose seems again to have changed his mind. In his 'Napoleonic Studies' of 1904, after quoting from the English edition of 'Metternich's Memoirs' the saying attributed by the Austrian Chancellor to Napoleon, 'The army assembled at Boulogne was always an army against Austria,' he adds:

'I am not convinced that Napoleon seriously intended to invade England, even by the able arguments brought together by Captain Mahan. If Marmont, Ney, and Davoust believed that the invasion would be attempted, Decrès, Bourrienne, and Miot de Mérito disbelieved it. . . . Disbelief in the invasion was widespread in England. . . . The evidence lately brought together by Captain Desbrière . . . shows that, up to the end of 1804, Napoleon's invasion schemes were probably a blind.'

But in 1906, in his Introduction to 'Napoleon's Last Voyages' (transcripts of Captain Ussher's account of the deportation of Napoleon to Elba, and of the narrative of the voyage to St Helena by the admiral's secretary, Mr Glover), Dr Rose goes back upon his opinion. Commenting on a conversation of the Emperor at Elba on May 9, 1814, he says:

'Indirectly this conversation throws light on the interesting question whether Napoleon was intent on the invasion of England. He surely would not have remembered the minute details of his great naval combination of 1805 had it been designed merely as a blind in order to lure on Austria to a premature attack by land. . . . But those who note the enormous extent of his preparations on the northern coast . . . will find it difficult to believe that he did not really intend to strike at London. Probably he hoped to effect a landing near the mouth of the Thames,' etc.

Belief in the latter of these inconsistent opinions has produced the two handsome volumes before us entitled 'Napoleon and the Invasion of England,' by Messrs H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley. They express

their obligations to Captain Desbrière (mentioned above) for his '1793-1805—Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques,' published in five volumes, in 1900-1902, under the direction of the General Staff. But though they have in great measure founded their work on M. Desbrière's, they do not arrive at his conclusion, and they criticise not a few of his points. The volumes contain, moreover, a quantity of original matter drawn from the valuable collection of MSS. of the period in the possession of Mr Broadley. A remarkable feature of the work is the inclusion of more than a hundred reproductions of contemporary caricatures and other prints illustrating the epoch, which supply overwhelming proof of the general belief in England of the imminence of invasion, in spite of the contrary opinion of solitary pamphleteers such as Spence, quoted by Dr Rose to support the impression he held in 1904. The authors have no doubt whatever that Napoleon did intend to invade England, and give their reasons in a well argued chapter. They quote the more or less authentic sayings on the subject ascribed to Napoleon in the literature of St Helena, in which he asseverated the truth of his intention to invade. They also quote the opinions in the same sense of French historians who treated Napoleon from various stand-points, from Thiers to Lanfrey, to whom we might add Duruy. They also discuss the contemporary writers of memoirs who have dealt with the question, rejecting the theory put forward by Bourrienne and Miot de Mérito that the invasion scheme was only a feint intended to dissimulate his plans of conquest on the Continent, and accepting the positive statement of Méneval, Napoleon's secretary, who denied the truth of the account in 'Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte'—which work, we may say, was originally called 'Histoire de Bonaparte, par un homme qui ne l'a pas quitté depuis quinze ans,' and afterwards appeared in another guise, about 1830, as the 'Mémoires de Bourrienne.' Among the authors of other works cited at the head of this article, Mr Fisher, in his 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' writes that it was a 'falsehood to say that the Boulogne flotilla was never seriously meant'; while Sorel, out of the vast stores of his knowledge, expresses no doubt on the subject, believing that Napoleon dreamed

of the conquest of London, where he hoped that a revolution would welcome him.

In spite of the opinion of Captain Desbrière, which merits our respect, we range ourselves with Thiers, Lanfrey, Duruy, and Sorel, and we can support our view from the evidence of other French writers not cited in the English books before us. The chief evidence on the other side is that of Miot de Mérito and of Metternich. Bourrienne we need not trouble about. Even if he is the author of the '*Mémoires*,' they are so full of inexactitudes that they provoked two copious volumes entitled '*Bourrienne et ses erreurs*.' The importance of Miot de Mérito's evidence lies in the fact that he, having been a Conseiller d'État, asserts that the Emperor, in January 1805, assured the Council of State that he had organised a complete army on a war footing, ready to take the field against Austria or any other continental Power, thanks to his pretended preparations for the invasion of England. Miot was a functionary of the old monarchy who rallied to the Revolution and held office under the Consulate and Empire, but was more intimately associated with Joseph (to whom he owed his title), at Naples and in Spain, than with Napoleon. His Memoirs did not appear till 1858, when they were published by his son-in-law General von Fleischmann, a German officer hostile to the memory of Napoleon. Metternich, who lived from 1773 to 1859, was sent as Austrian ambassador to Paris in the early days of the Empire and remained until the war between France and Austria in 1809. In the high functions he exercised at home he was reckoned a friend of Napoleon after the Peace of 1809 until 1812, when he became openly anti-Napoleonic, and so remained till the end. There is an interesting book, not mentioned, we think, in any of the works before us, which, if read with caution, is of some value for the information it gives on the memoir writers in question. '*Napoléon et ses Détracteurs*' was written by Prince Napoleon, the son of Jerome, in 1887 in reply to Taine's study of Napoleon, which now forms the first chapters of his '*Régime Moderne*.' Making allowance for the extreme bitterness with which he attacks Taine, who had been on terms of intimacy with him and his sister, the Princesse Mathilde, one may gather much valuable information

from his pages. We will not dwell on what he says about the unreliability of Bourrienne and Miot, who are frequently cited by Taine. But in his chapter on Metternich he incidentally refers to the Austrian diplomatist's suggestion that the army assembled at Boulogne was destined to fight Austria. This he does dispassionately, as it is not a thesis adopted by Taine. To any one who was ever brought into contact with either of the children of King Jerome and saw their familiarity with every point in the policy and tradition of their uncle, it is certain that what Prince Napoleon said about the plan of invasion was authentic. Speaking of Metternich's supposition he writes:

'L'inexactitude et la puérilité de cette assertion sont évidentes. . . . L'Empereur suivait avec passion les préparatifs de sa grande entreprise, et, loin de se préoccuper alors de l'Autriche, il poussait ses armements de façon à montrer que c'était bien l'Angleterre qu'il avait en vue.'

Another writer, not cited in the works before us, who was a minor actor in the Napoleonic drama, and who exercised more important functions under the Restoration and the Monarchy of July, M de Barante (1782-1866), gives his impression of Napoleon's intentions at Boulogne with the impartiality of a Frenchman who served several dynasties. He was a friend of Daru, who, as Secretary-general of the Ministry of War, was with Napoleon at Boulogne, and he writes:

'Napoléon ne cessait point de se préoccuper de la descente en Angleterre, qu'il conçut réellement. De si énormes dépenses, une application si constante, . . . deux années consacrées aux préparatifs de cette grande entreprise, n'étaient point une vaine démonstration.'

But Barante knew of the Austrian theory, and, as an impartial writer, he suggests that this may have been a second string which Napoleon was reserving, and he adds:

'Mais bien des circonstances vraisemblables viendraient peut-être à la traverse de cette importante manœuvre [the despatch of Villeneuve to the West Indies]. Aussi, dès le commencement de 1805, il tenait en réserve une autre vaste entreprise pour la substituer à la descente si elle ne pouvait être tentée. La grande armée campée sur les côtes de France depuis Brest jusqu'à Amsterdam serait dirigée contre l'Autriche.'

Miot reappears frequently in one of the most interesting of the English works before us, 'The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy,' by Mr R. M. Johnston. The book is dated from Cambridge, Mass., and the author laments the loss of four-fifths of the MS., which he seems to have prepared in Europe. He consequently had to reproduce his work without being able to verify it again with the original documents whence it was drawn. The book is nevertheless one of considerable value, and for readableness as well as for original research we are disposed to place it first among the English monographs under review. The author has a fault which is, however, more conspicuous in some of the other writers, one which specialists, as we have already hinted, ought to avoid. This is the introduction of the names of persons without explanation as to their identity. Nothing is duller than a list of bare names, nothing more discouraging for a student, especially a beginner; and in all the English books before us we have name after name introduced which can convey no idea to the reader unless he be an expert. Mr Johnston, we repeat, is less of a sinner in this respect than some of our native monographers, yet from his half-dozen references to Miot de Mérito no one would gain any idea of the career and character of that person, with which the writer is evidently familiar. The chief part of this interesting work deals with the adventures in their kingdom of two of Napoleon's 'rois-préfets,' to use Sorel's happy expression. These were his brother Joseph, whom, in 1806, he made hereditary Prince and then King of Naples, and his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat who, when Napoleon, in 1808, made the fatal blunder of putting Joseph on the throne of Spain, became 'Gioacchino Napoleone, per la grazia di Dio e per la costituzione dello Stato, Re delle Due Sicilie.' We have nowhere read a more vivid detailed narrative of the last vicissitudes of Murat than in Mr Johnston's chapter entitled 'The Tragedy of Pizzo,' describing his flight from Provence to Corsica after the second Restoration, and his descent thence on the shores of his former kingdom, where he met his death. Another point of interest in this work is the adequate account it gives of the battle of Maida. A populous quarter of London is named after it; but we doubt if

one inhabitant in a hundred has any idea what Maida means. What is curious about that once famous victory—which was won, in July 1806, by Sir John Stuart near the Calabrian coast, supported by Sir Sidney Smith from the sea, to keep the French out of Sicily—is the different appreciation accorded to it by English or French contemporary writers. Hewson Clarke, in his discursive chronicle of the great war, published after Waterloo, writes of 'the glorious victory of the 6th of July.' But in a French biography of Stuart, dated 1825, all that the writer finds to say about 'the glorious victory' is that,

'en 1806, il [Stuart] débarqua dans le royaume de Naples, où il défit, dans les plaines de Maida, un faible corps de troupes commandé par le général Régnier.'

The real reason why England laid such stress on a victory in which only forty-five British were killed, is given by the author of 'The Life of Hussey Vivian,' although that brilliant cavalry leader in the Napoleonic wars took no part in the Italian campaign. He says that the victory of Sir John Stuart over the French at Maida raised the prestige of British arms when it was sorely needed, after the death of Pitt. As Mr Johnston points out, Trafalgar had inspired the British Government into a false sense of security. We had recently not been successful in the East, and the position of Sicily as a stepping-stone for France towards the Orient urged England to keep Napoleon out of possession of what remained of King Ferdinand's dominions. We may point out that the index-maker of the 'Cambridge Modern History' imagines that there were two victories at Maida, this being his entry:

'Maida, English victory at (1806), 270; Sir John Stuart's victory at, 404.'

His achievements are rivalled by those of Mr Johnston's index-maker, who professes to give only the names of persons and places connected with the Napoleonic Empire in southern Italy, and in the former category includes 'Jehovah' and 'Priapus.' It is a pity, when a man has spent perhaps years of labour in producing a valuable book, that he should impair its value by employing a mechanical drudge to make his index. Mr Johnston's

bibliography, on the contrary, seems excellent, but it is probably his own work.

Another valuable work before us, which bears some slight analogy to the last mentioned, is 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' by Mr H. A. L. Fisher. In Germany Mr Fisher seems to be thoroughly at home, whether dealing with the confederation of the Rhine or with the establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia, with Jerome Bonaparte as its figure-head. As we have little but praise to give to the author's pages on Germany, we may with the greater freedom make some observations on his manner of dealing with France, with which country, its language and its people, he seems to be less familiar. He intimates that the late Prof. York Powell saw the proofs of his book on Germany, and it is a pity that some person of equal competence did not examine his pages on France, so as to eliminate inaccuracies which, however trifling, are of such frequent occurrence as to mislead the student and irritate the expert. In the 'Cambridge Modern History' he speaks of Napoleon's companions at St Helena as 'a little company of French gentlemen and ladies accustomed to the stirring life of a brilliant capital,' who regretted 'the comforts of a well-appointed Parisian hotel.' This mistaken suggestion that the French exiles were Parisians pining for the boulevards is taken from Lord Rosebery, who said of them that 'a collection of Parisians could not be cheerful perched on a tropical rock.' If Mr Fisher had turned to original sources for the lives of Napoleon's companions he would have found that to no company of Frenchmen was the epithet 'Parisian' less appropriately applied. Gourgaud had spent eighteen of his thirty-four years on the battlefields of Europe; Bertrand's life from 1795 was one long series of campaigns; Las Cases was a sailor in his youth, and then an *émigré*, and had lived about five years in Paris; Montholon left Paris when eleven, and from the age of fifteen was always in active service. Although Mr Fisher allowed himself to be led into this error, he does not follow Lord Rosebery in his misleading conclusions in 'The Last Phase,' from which Dr Rose likewise disassociates himself. Another minor fault of Mr Fisher is that, when he is translating a French phrase, he sometimes puts down English words which have no meaning.

In his chapter on the Codes he says, 'A woman cannot be accepted as a witness to the acts of the Civil State.' What would any undergraduate or other reader unacquainted with French jurisprudence suppose 'acts of the Civil State' to be? The French is of course, '*actes de l'État Civil*'—an untranslatable phrase meaning the registrations of births, marriages, and deaths—but how is the student to know that? With one of his translations we are completely puzzled. Fesch, we are told, was 'in turn a constitutional priest, an inspector of carts . . . an archbishop and a cardinal.' What does 'an inspector of carts' stand for? It probably refers to the unfrocked period of the career of 'L'oncle Fesch,' when he was in the commissariat of the revolutionary army. But the posts he then held were '*garde-magasin de fourrages*,' and '*inspecteur de fournitures*'; so the mystery remains unsolved. This is in the excellent book on Germany, in which '*La Tour and Taxis*' on one page is followed by '*Thurn and Taxis*' on the next; 1802 is given as the date of the French Concordat, and the Quercy, the region which produced Murat, and also Gambetta, is referred to as though it were a town. Without hypercriticism one may regret such errors in a work intended primarily for students. There is more excuse for them in Mr Fisher's '*Bonapartism*,' which is a slap-dash pamphlet, a reprint of six lectures delivered at University College, London, in 1907. They afford no trace of being the work of a specialist. In addition to mistakes of the kind indicated above, such as where the author speaks of Napoleon's 'miraculous progress from Fréjus to Paris' after Elba, confusing 1799 with 1815, the book is clearly from the pen of a writer whose knowledge of France after the latter date is superficial. Grave errors of fact are interspersed with the author's generalisations. Among 'the ugly features of despotism' under the Second Empire he counts 'the debasement of the bar.' Why, the great glory of the French bar in the nineteenth century is that it was the sanctuary of free speech under Napoleon III, when the Press was muzzled and the Legislature in leading strings, and when Berryer, Jules Favre, and Gambetta assailed the Government with their bold eloquence in the law courts. And so up to the end of the book, when the author asks, 'Was not Darboy, that Archbishop of Paris

who was murdered in the Commune, the last of the Gallican prelates?' The answer being that he was nothing of the sort, a score of Gallican bishops having survived him, including Dupanloup, a much greater than Darboy. We submit with respect that such inexactitudes ought not to be offered to university students.

It is with pleasure that we turn back to the author's 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany.' With Mr Fisher's instructive opening chapter on the mutual interaction of the different civilisations of France and Germany we have compared an elaborate study entitled 'De l'influence historique de la France sur l'Allemagne,' by M. Joseph Reinach the well-known French deputy, whose father came from Germany, and who is equally well acquainted with the two nations. Mr Fisher would naturally not be acquainted with M. Reinach's little known essay, nearly twenty years old; and it is interesting to notice how two well-informed students, having no knowledge of one another's work, should come to the same conclusion on important points. To Mr Fisher,

'the French Revolution supplied the electric shock which woke Germany from her lethargy';

while to M. Reinach,

'la Révolution française est pour l'Allemagne ce que le Nil est pour l'Égypte, le fleuve créateur qui couvre la vieille terre de ses flots, la féconde et fait sortir les moissons de son sein.'

Both writers, from very different standpoints, appreciate, not dissimilarly, the influence of the Revolution, effectively brought into Germany by Napoleon, upon German Protestantism; both of them recognise Napoleon as the originator of German unity, just as Sorel and other writers under review have ascribed to him the fatherhood of Italian unity. We regret that reasons of space will not allow us to dwell at length upon some of Mr Fisher's chapters. The two on the kingdom of Westphalia are of special interest, that on Westphalian problems being of value as showing the effect of the introduction into a feudal region of Germany of forms of the administrative, judicial, and ecclesiastical machinery which Napoleon had made the basis of his reconstruction of France. The author is more severe on Jerome—who

was not twenty-three when his brother made him king of Westphalia—than he is, in 'The Grand Duchy of Berg,' on Caroline Murat, whose morals were not much better than those of her young brother. With regard to his criticisms of Jerome's 'baseness' to Miss Paterson, Jerome was only a boy when he contracted his illegal marriage in America, and in consenting to its annulment he was only aping the ways of ruling families more ancient than the Bonapartes. We wonder if the author is aware that it was at the Pavilion at Brighton, in the town of Mrs Fitzherbert, that English society showed its sympathy for the basely treated 'Mrs Paterson, late Madame Jerome Bonaparte,' who danced in the royal quadrille at Princess Charlotte's birthday party. A point of more legitimate historical interest, which might have been mentioned in connexion with Jerome being made a king and his consequent marriage with Princess Catherine of Würtemberg, is that, after the death of Princess Charlotte, the issue of the ex-king and queen of Westphalia would have been close to the succession to the British Crown, had the belated marriages of George III's sons proved barren—Catherine being granddaughter of Augusta, elder daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Our space does not permit us to do more than mention the book which stands last on our list, 'Napoléon à Bayonne.' It is a detailed account from local chronicles, most of which had never seen the light before, of Napoleon's sojourn at Bayonne, where he arrived on April 14, 1808, and took up his quarters at the Château de Marrac, which he did not leave until he had sent thence the Spanish royal family into exile at Valençay, and had placed Joseph on their throne. This most interesting narrative of the turning-point of Napoleon's career, to which his eventual downfall may be traced, is the work of a writer little known to fame even in his native land. M. Ducéré, the sub-librarian of the city of Bayonne, is an example of those modest functionaries, often found in the French provinces, who, with great industry and literary skill supply historians with material of the highest value without reaping any public reward for their services.

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Art. VIII.—THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE.

1. *Die Shakespeare-Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen.* Von Dr Cecil Brodmeier. Weimar: Buchmann, 1904.
 2. *Prolegomena zu einer Darstellung der englischen Volksbühne zur Elisabeth- und Stuart-Zeit.* Von Dr Paul Mönkemeyer. Hannover und Leipzig: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1905.
 3. *Die Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespeareschen Theaters nach den zeitgenössischen Dramen.* Von Dr Richard Wegener. Halle: Niemeyer, 1907.
 4. *Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging: a Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Literature.* By George F. Reynolds. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.
 5. *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist.* By George Pierce Baker, Professor of English in Harvard University. London and New York: Macmillan, 1907.
 6. *The Stage of the Globe.* By E. K. Chambers. (Appendix to vol. x of 'The Works of William Shakespeare.')
- Stratford-on-Avon: The Shakespeare Head Press, 1904.

ONE of the main tendencies of modern thought has been to emphasise the intimate relationship between an organism and its environment, and the impossibility of thoroughly understanding the one apart from the other. In the field of literature, the drama is so manifestly and peculiarly a product of social conditions that the criticism which considered Shakespeare as a sort of isolated miracle has long ago been discredited and abandoned. No one now denies that the Elizabethan drama must be seen in its true perspective, as a part of English history, before its meaning and value can be properly estimated. But in the case of drama, as distinct from other forms of literature, there is a material as well as an intellectual and social environment to be taken into account. A play is destined for performance in a theatre, and a practical playwright can no more disregard the actual structure of his stage than a composer can disregard the range and quality of the instrument for which he is writing. There are innumerable cases in which, if we want to grasp a

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dramatist's reason for doing thus, or thus, and not otherwise, we must recall in imagination the actual mechanism of performance which he had in view. Hence the keen interest which scholars have taken in investigating the true structure of the Attic theatre in the fifth century, which has been obscured by the facile acceptance of unauthoritative traditions, and by deductions from architectural remains of a later period. But our knowledge of the Greek theatre is not a whit more imperfect than our knowledge of the English theatre before the Civil War. The theatrical manners and customs of the period have been to some extent studied, and imaginative historians, founding on passages from prologues, epilogues, 'inductions,' and pamphlets, have drawn animated pictures of the typical Elizabethan audience. But, whatever the value of these pictures, they deal with social, not with technical, conditions—with the environment 'in front of the house,' as we should nowadays put it. Of the structure of the stage and the actual mechanism of presentation, little is known with any approach to certainty. The need for such knowledge, however, is now vividly realised in many quarters. Investigations are being made, points of controversy are being minutely scrutinised, and it is not unreasonable to hope that a thorough sifting of the evidence may before long enable us to reconstruct the main outlines of the Elizabethan stage, even if certain details must always remain obscure.

The need for thorough investigation has been brought home to us, not only from the literary, but from the theatrical side. The modern 'Shakespearean revival,' with its gorgeous scenery, its spectacular interludes, and, in many cases, its ruthless mangling of the text, is evidently quite unlike anything foreseen or intended by Shakespeare. The question whether, if he could have foreseen, he would have approved, need not be here discussed. One may hold that he would not entirely have disapproved, and may yet sympathise with those who wish to see his plays performed, occasionally at any rate, under stage conditions more nearly approaching those which he must have had in his mind's eye. From this desire various artistic enterprises have taken rise. We have had in England the meritorious Elizabethan Stage Society, directed for many years by Mr William Poe

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Several American universities have made efforts in the same direction, and one or two German theatres, notably the Court Theatre at Munich, have given numerous performances on what they call a 'Shakespeare-Bühne.' But there has been a striking lack of unanimity as to the precise characteristics of the 'Shakespeare-Bühne'; and the English performances, at any rate, were arranged with an arbitrariness, often bordering on eccentricity, which greatly impaired their value as serious reconstructive endeavours. All these experiments, in fact, have proved little or nothing, except the urgent need for that systematic examination of all the data of the case which cannot now be long delayed.

Partial and provisional efforts in this direction have already been made, and we propose to pass in review some of the more recent studies of the subject. All except one brief essay are of German or American origin. In England, investigation has not got much beyond the point at which Collier and Halliwell-Phillipps left it. Mr E. K. Chambers' admirable work on 'The Mediæval Stage' stops short, as its title imports, on the threshold of the Renaissance. The one English essay that stands on our list* comes also from the pen of Mr Chambers, and appears among the appendices to the Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeare. It runs to no more than ten pages; and in such a space it is impossible to go very deep into this complicated enquiry. Mr Chambers may be said rather to summarise its difficulties than to offer any solution of them. His criticisms of certain German and American theories are very acute; but his attempt to argue away the pillars which are commonly conceived to have supported the 'shadow' or half-roof over the stage of the 'public' theatres strikes us as more daring than successful. His exposition of the probability of a wide divergence in the arrangements of different theatres seems, on the face of it, convincing; but the tendency of investigation is to rebut this initial probability, and to encourage the belief that the great majority of dramatists, in constructing their pieces, kept in view a normal or typical stage. There are exceptions, especi-

* Mention should be made, however, of several learned and valuable papers contributed (in English) to the German periodicals 'Anglia' and 'Englische Studien,' by Mr W. J. Lawrence, of Dublin.

ally in plays written for the 'Children of Paul's,' but they are not more than sufficient to prove the rule.

Among the German studies, Dr Paul Mönkemeyer's dissertation, though not the first in order of time, may conveniently be treated first. It is quite rightly entitled, 'Prolegomena zu einer Darstellung der englischen Volksbühne.' It consists of three chapters, preliminary to a larger work which the author has in hand. The first deals with 'The stage of the English popular drama before the erection of permanent theatres in London (1576).' It is, in fact, a careful survey of the transition from the medieval mystery-stage to the stage of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors. This is an essential part of any thorough-going enquiry, and Dr Mönkemeyer's treatment of it is very intelligent and suggestive. The second and third chapters consist of a general examination of the material with which the student has to deal, and consideration of its evidential value. Much that the author has to say on this point is sufficiently obvious, and yet has been very commonly overlooked. He insists, for example, on the fact that plays acted only at Court, or at one of the universities, cannot be cited in evidence of the practices of the regular theatres. Malone's fundamental error in believing that the Elizabethan stage, like the modern stage, could be shut off by a front curtain, arose from his neglect of this obvious principle. He based his belief mainly on the line, 'Now draw the curtaines for our scene is done,' which occurs at the end of 'Tancred and Gismunda'—a play never acted (it would seem) by professional players, but presented by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple before Queen Elizabeth in 1568. It is clear that from such a play as this no deductions are to be drawn with reference to the common * stage. A more difficult question arises in the case of certain plays as to which our information is insufficient. For instance, Dr Mönkemeyer would reject 'The Devil's Charter,' by Barnabe Barnes, which was published in 1607, 'As it was plaide before the King's Majestie, upon Candlemasse night last: by his Majesties Servants. But more exactly renewed, corrected and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure

* We say 'common' rather than 'public' stage, for the latter term involves an ambiguity in this context, and should be reserved for the 'public' or unroofed as distinct from the 'private' or covered theatres.

and profit of the Reader.' Clearly the evidence of such a play is to be accepted with caution; but we think Dr Mönkemeyer would be wrong to disregard it entirely. It is incredible that the actors should have reserved this lurid melodrama for the Court alone; and the author's revision probably consisted in elaborating the dialogue rather than in altering or adding to the 'business.' In writing the stage-directions, which are unusually full, Barnes certainly had actual performance in his mind's eye; and his directions in nowise conflict with the general mass of evidence as to the possibilities and practices of the common stage. On the whole, we should be inclined to rank as admissible evidence any play by a dramatist of experience which was certainly written with a view to theatrical performance, and not solely as a Court entertainment. This principle would apply, for example, to Shirley's 'St Patrick for Ireland,' which Mönkemeyer would apparently reject on the ground that it is not known to have been acted elsewhere than in Dublin. If the stage-directions in such a play flagrantly contradicted our other evidence, we should no doubt be justified in rejecting them; but when no such contradiction occurs we may legitimately assume that the playwright had in view the general type of theatre to which he was accustomed. The more one reads of the Elizabethan drama with a view to reconstructing its material mechanism, the more is one conscious of a certain 'standardisation' of effects.

Dr Mönkemeyer's third chapter deals with the 'Origin of the stage directions in the genuine popular plays,' as distinct from Court plays. He begins by insisting on a very elementary fact: namely, that the stage directions in modern editions are, for the purposes of this investigation, absolutely worthless. They are (for the most part) the interpolations of editors whose sole aim was to smooth the way for the general reader, and who, so far as they visualised the scenes at all, did so in terms of the modern theatre. Dr Mönkemeyer might have stated more strongly than he does the necessity for entirely banishing the modern edition from our ken. Recent editors, it is true, have generally realised the importance of distinguishing between the original stage directions and those which have been supplied by them-

selves or their predecessors. But, even when printed within brackets, a modern stage direction tends to warp the student's vision. This is especially the case with regard to the place indications which it is now the custom to prefix to every scene. It is the beginning of wisdom, in this enquiry, to realise that scarcely any of these occur in the original texts, and probably not one in the accustomed modern form. Rarely do we even find such a direction as 'Enter Brutus in his Orchard,' or 'Enter the King, Exeter, Bedford, and Gloucester. Alarum: Sealing ladders at Harfleur.' As a rule, indeed, the locality may be more or less clearly deduced from the dialogue, but the exceptions to this rule are innumerable. The reader who is accustomed only to modern editions would be amazed to learn how many passages in the Elizabethan drama are entirely unlocalised—so much so that it is impossible even to say whether they are 'interiors' or 'exteriors.' Such passages are perhaps more frequent in the minor dramatists, but even in Shakespeare they are common enough. Nor are scenes uncommon in which absolute inconsistencies of locality occur. A simple instance may be found in 'Othello,' iii, 4, and iv, 1. Modern editors, with cautious vagueness, place these scenes 'Before the Castle'—judging, no doubt, that the casual entrances of 'Bianca, a Curtezan' imply some sort of public locality. This is quite true; but in what public locality can we possibly place the private and intensely painful transactions between Othello and Desdemona which occur in both scenes? These things baffle imagination if we conceive them as happening on the open esplanade. They imply a chamber in the castle, or, at the very utmost, a private garden; but how account for Bianca's intrusion into either of these places? The problem is insoluble from the point of view of the modern audience, accustomed always to have a definite scene before its eyes; whereas Shakespeare's audiences, fresh from the moralities and interludes, with their abstract or ideal scenes, were probably unconscious of any difficulty. The category of place imposed itself but faintly and intermittently on the mind of the Elizabethan playgoer: a fact which the believers in the habitual indication of scenes by placards, and even by painted cloths, would do well to note. Here, no doubt, we are trenching on

debatable ground ; but we do so deliberately. We believe the *vagueness of localisation* of the Elizabethan drama to be a fundamental fact which cannot be fully realised until the student has dismissed modern editions from his mind, and gone back to the original texts.

For the rest, Dr Mönkemeyer distinguishes with great acuteness between four classes of stage directions : those which must have proceeded from the author himself ; those in which the hand of the stage-manager or prompter is apparent ; those which must have been inserted by printer-editors for the better understanding of readers ; and those which clearly proceed from stenographers noting the 'business' as they saw it while taking their surreptitious copies. This last class, by the way, is sometimes so valuable as evidence, that one is inclined to think leniently of the dishonest practice to which we owe it.

Some passages in Dr Mönkemeyer's book seem to indicate a conception of the typical Elizabethan stage which we believe to be untenable ; but as he is confessedly only at the outset of his investigation, criticism would be premature.

Dr Cecil Brodmeier's book on 'Die Shakespeare-Bühne' claims no such suspension of judgment. Here we have an attempt to expound the stage-management of all Shakespeare's plays in the light of a hard-and-fast theory—a theory which seems to be largely accepted in Germany, and has found able adherents in America. Wherever it may have originated, Dr Brodmeier is certainly its most conspicuous champion. It is known as the theory of 'alternation' ; and as our whole vision of the Elizabethan stage is determined by our acceptance or rejection of it, an endeavour must be made to state it fully and clearly.

Playgoers whose memory carries them back twenty years or so can recall a general practice, in plays requiring frequent changes of scene, of alternating what were called 'front' or 'carpenter' scenes with full 'sets.' Thus, in 'Othello,' the curtain would first rise on a moderately deep scene representing the exterior of Brabantio's house. Then a painted 'cloth' would be let down in front of this (or two 'flats' would be shoved on), representing a street in Venice ; and on the shallow space between this 'cloth' and the footlights the first encounter between Othello and Brabantio would take place. This over, the 'cloth'

would be raised, or the 'flats' withdrawn, and it would be found that Brabantio's house had been cleared away, and the whole depth of the stage called into requisition for a 'set' representing the Venetian Senate chamber. This practice has fallen into seeming disuse; but it is in truth only disguised by the fact that managers generally drop a curtain, or plunge the stage in darkness, while the scene is being changed. The principle of employing the time occupied by comparatively shallow scenes for the setting of deep scenes remains in force wherever several changes of place within a single act are necessary.

Now the 'alternation' theory would throw back this practice to Elizabethan times, with the substitution of a 'middle curtain' for the 'cloths' or 'flats' of twenty years ago. The dramatists, we are told, habitually arranged that a scene requiring the whole stage should be followed by a scene requiring only the shallow front portion of the stage; and while this scene was in progress in front of the 'middle curtain,' stage-hands were arranging behind it such properties as might be required for the next scene, if not actually setting out painted 'hangings' (*koullissen-artige Behänge*) somewhat in the nature of modern scenery. That there is a certain initial plausibility in this theory (except in so far as the painted hangings are concerned) cannot be denied. We do frequently find, especially in Shakespeare, that short scenes requiring comparatively few actors are inserted between longer scenes requiring many performers, and sometimes more or less elaborate properties. Moreover, there would seem to be a manifest convenience in being able to indicate a change of place (as well as a possible lapse of time) by some such simple device as the opening or closing of a pair of curtains.* That the theory should have arisen is not in the least surprising; but we do not believe that it will bear examination.

The 'alternationists' all start from the famous De Witt drawing of the Swan Theatre (reproduced facing p. 450), though they are very soon forced to run counter to its authority. It is necessary, then, that we should briefly consider the credentials of this much-discussed document

* It is admitted on all hands that whatever curtains were employed on the Elizabethan stage were not raised and lowered like most modern curtains, but were drawn aside—as a rule, no doubt, parting in the middle.

—our only graphic presentment of the interior of a 'public' or unroofed theatre.

It was discovered in 1888 by a German scholar, Dr Karl Gaedertz, in a manuscript volume in the University Library at Utrecht. The volume is a sort of commonplace-book, kept by one Arend van Buchell (b. 1565, d. 1641). Van Buchell had a friend, Johannes de Witt, who was a noted traveller. De Witt seems to have sent him a letter describing his 'London observations' and including a sketch of the Swan Theatre, which Van Buchell copied into his commonplace-book. The drawing, as we have it, cannot be De Witt's original, for it is on exactly the same paper as the rest of the book. Thus it has not the authority of a sketch taken actually on the spot; nor can we tell whether the original from which it was copied was drawn on the spot, or merely from memory. On the other hand, there seems to be no suspicion of forgery in the matter. No expert has thrown doubt on the assumption that the drawing dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Some of its features may be accepted without question as being very much what other evidence would lead us to expect. We know, for instance, that most of the public theatres were round or octagonal in shape, the Fortune Theatre being the only certain exception. Again, almost all the representations of the Bankside theatres in the old panoramic maps show from the outside that hutch or turret rising over the roof which we see from the inside in the De Witt drawing. It was here, no doubt, that the trumpeter (sketched by De Witt) blew the three blasts which announced the opening of a performance. The half roof or 'shadow' over the stage is mentioned in two building-contracts which we possess. In the Fortune it was probably supported by pillars, as in the Swan sketch; but in the Hope contract it is stipulated that no pillars shall be required for its support. The projection of the stage into the 'yard' is very similar to that provided for in the Fortune contract. The two doors are mentioned in innumerable stage-directions. And, finally, we know that there must have been at the back of the stage some such gallery as is shown in the drawing. It was used by the actors for battlements,

balconies, etc.; it was sometimes occupied by spectators; and at other times (or perhaps concurrently) by the musicians of the theatre.

'It would seem, then,' the reader may say, 'that there is independent evidence for practically every feature in the drawing.' Yes, there is; and yet, when we come to examine it in detail, and try to conceive it as the scene of any ordinary Elizabethan play, we find it lacking in such essential particulars that we are forced to believe either that it does not accurately represent the Swan stage, or that the Swan stage differed very remarkably from the typical stage of the period. One might almost take it for a theatre conjecturally outlined by some one who had superficially examined the maps, pamphlets, and other documents, but had not gone minutely into the ultimate evidence of the plays themselves.

Dr Brodmeier, however, professes at the outset to accept the Swan drawing without serious question. It does not, indeed, show any middle curtains; but these, (though, curiously enough, he does not make the suggestion) may be concealed behind the pillars. For the rest, it gives him the three stage-regions (*Bühnenfelder*) which his theory requires: the '*Vorderbühne*' in front of the pillars, the '*Hinterbühne*' behind the pillars, and the '*balkonartige Oberbühne*'—the balcony-like Upper Stage—at the back. To these may 'eventuell' be added a fourth stage-region, by opening one or other of the doors and showing some action in progress in the space behind. The fact that this fourth '*Bühnenfeld*' is gravely accepted by several theorists shows what dangers beset the mere library student in this investigation. Who that has any sense of the theatre can look at the Swan drawing and imagine the tomb of the Capulets represented—as Brodmeier would have us think—by the space behind one of the doors? All the most poignant part of the scene, all that passes after Romeo enters the tomb, would be wholly invisible to at least a quarter of the audience, very imperfectly visible to at least another quarter, and, on the whole, so cabined, cribbed, confined as to suggest Bob Acres' nightmare of a duel in a sentry-box. It is hard enough to imagine, with Brodmeier, that this 'fourth stage-region' served for the niche in which Hermione, as a statue, was placed at the end of 'The

Winter's Tale. Remember that, as she is twice bidden 'descend,' she was evidently standing on a pedestal; and conceive a statue on a pedestal placed behind one of these door-openings, or any door-opening of reasonable height! All the spectators above the ground level who saw her at all would see her decapitated. But this is credible in comparison with the theory as to Juliet's tomb. Dr Brodmeier evidently has not realised that the star actor's insistence on having 'the centre of the stage' is founded on an optical law which must have obtained in the Elizabethan no less than in the modern playhouse—at all events where anything that occurred towards the back of the stage was concerned.

Returning now to the essential feature of the alternation theory—the 'middle curtain' hung between the pillars of the 'shadow'—let us see how Dr Brodmeier proceeds to deal with it. The main purpose assigned it is to conceal the bringing on of furniture and properties—banqueting-tables and chairs, council-tables, beds, thrones, altars, etc. But it is clear that, in the Swan sketch, if you simply draw curtains between the two pillars, most of what passes behind them will be visible to something like a quarter of the audience. Better no concealment at all than concealment so imperfect; so that Dr Brodmeier is forced to run lateral curtains back from the pillars to the wall of the 'mimorum ædes,' or tying-house, which shut in the stage at the back. This he is all the more willing to do as there are countless passages in which the two doors shown in the De Witt drawing are flagrantly inadequate to the entrances and exits required, and the lateral curtains provide him with very necessary side-entrances (*Seiteneingänge*). We assume, then, the possibility of boxing in with front and side curtains the quadrilateral between the pillars and the back wall; but what does this involve in the theatre figured by De Witt? Firstly, front-stage scenes, played with the curtains closed, would be very imperfectly seen, or not at all, by those of the audience who occupied the seats, or stood in the 'yard,' near the 'mimorum ædes.' Secondly, if there were any spectators in the gallery at the back of the stage (and in some theatres, and at some times, there certainly were) they would, when the curtains were closed, see all that they were not, and nothing that

they were, intended to see. Thirdly, the side-entrances would be of no use whatever, since the actor could not possibly reach the point at which he had to make his entrance, except by coming on at one of the doors, stealing round the upper end of the side curtain, and coming down the outer margin of the stage, in full view of nearly half the audience, to take his stand at the opening in the curtain, and await his cue. Add to this the fact that whenever the lateral curtains were drawn so as to admit of side-entrances, the 'Hinterbühne,' thus curtained in, would be wholly invisible to every one who sat, or stood, farther back than the two pillars.

These difficulties, of course, do not escape Dr Brodmeier; and how does he get over them? Simply by abandoning altogether the Swan drawing, and constructing a wholly new form of stage for which there is not an iota of evidence. It will be seen from his ground-plan (reproduced facing p. 450) that he entirely encloses his 'Hinterbühne,' running a wall back on either side from the outer edge of the pillars, which he places (in flat opposition to the Swan drawing) at the extreme margin of the stage. Then from the inner edge of the pillars he runs his lateral curtains back to the tiring-house wall, thus leaving on both sides, between side-wall and curtain, narrow passages to which access is obtained by two new doorways (of course invisible to the audience) pierced in the tiring-house wall. According to this scheme the two pillars are equivalent to the sides of a proscenium arch, and we have practically a modern stage with very narrow 'wings' and a very large 'apron' or projection in front of the proscenium.

Now, apart from the total want of evidence for any such construction, the one determining characteristic of the Elizabethan stage which can be proved beyond all shadow of doubt is its lack of anything like a proscenium—anything in the nature of a picture-frame interposed between the spectator and the play. Dr Brodmeier's box-like stage, with its proscenium pillars, would have modified the whole evolution of the Elizabethan drama in the most essential particulars. It is quite inconceivable that playwrights should never have discovered the convenience of the tableau ending to an act or scene—the ending which leaves a group of characters on the stage and

simply draws the curtains on them.* Why should they always take the trouble to make their characters walk off the stage? Why should the typical act- or scene-ending, be 'Exeunt omnes,' and never 'Curtain'? Why, above all things, should the playwright almost invariably give careful directions for the removal of dead bodies from the stage? This, to our thinking, is the ultimate disproof, not only of Brodmeier's proscenium stage, but of the whole alternation theory. If it were possible, in the normal course of things, to shut off the 'Hinterbühne' from view, it is inconceivable that bodies should always be carried off. In over a hundred plays which we have minutely examined (including all Shakespeare's tragedies) there is only a small minority of cases in which explicit provision is not made, either by stage-direction or by a line in the text, for the removal of bodies. The few exceptions to this rule are clearly mere inadvertences, or else are due to the fact that there is a crowd of people on the stage in whose exit a body can be dragged or carried off almost unobserved. We must add that there is another small group of apparent exceptions, to which we shall presently return. In these cases bodies are not removed, because they are lying on a portion of the stage (unknown either to Dr Brodmeier or to the Swan drawing) which *can* be curtained off, and which is indispensable to the action of nine plays out of ten.†

* There are, indeed, a few plays—probably not more than about two per cent. of the whole extant body of literature—in which tableau endings seem to be indicated. These plays present a problem which we have not closely examined, and much less solved. But had a proscenium closed by curtains been an established feature of the ordinary stage, tableau endings would certainly have been the rule instead of the rarest of exceptions.

† It may be worth while to point out the extreme lack of thought which characterises Dr Brodmeier's ground-plan. He makes the two doors lead, by carefully walled-in winding staircases, to the Upper Stage, to which he seems to conceive, in a vague way, that these stairs form the only means of access. If this were so, the two doors would obviously be quite useless as general means of entrance and exit, and no one could reach the stage from without except by the 'Seiteneingänge,' through the lateral curtains. But as he does not explicitly state that the Upper Stage can be reached only by the winding stairs, we may give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that he admits other entrances to it. What is the result? Unless the Upper Stage is curtained off (as in many cases it cannot have been) no one can reach the main stage through the doors who has not previously been seen to cross the Upper Stage; while every one who goes off by the doors must also reappear 'aloft' before he is finally lost to view. The idea

Before going on to this part of our subject, however, we must briefly examine the alternation theory from another point of view. We have tried to show that it cannot be put in practice on the ordinary Elizabethan stage, as we are compelled by the whole weight of the evidence to conceive it. Let us now see whether we can gather from the texts any real reason for supposing that playwrights deliberately constructed their plays on the principle of interposing a 'Vorderbühne' scene between every pair of 'Hinterbühne' scenes.

This theory has been very ably criticised by Mr George F. Reynolds, of Faribault, Minnesota, in an acutely reasoned treatise entitled 'Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging.' Mr Reynolds accepts Brodmeier's tests of a 'Hinterbühne' or full-stage scene—the appearance of characters on the Upper Stage, entrances and exits through the 'doors,' and the use of large properties such as banquet-tables, etc.—and then cites a multitude of instances in which two unmistakable 'Hinterbühne' scenes come together, with no trace of a 'Vorderbühne' or front scene between them. Most of Mr Reynolds's examples, however, are taken from non-Shakespearean plays, and many of them from plays of early date by Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Lodge. Dr Brodmeier (who confines his attention almost exclusively to Shakespeare) might conceivably reply that if Shakespeare can be proved to have observed the principle of alternation, that is enough for him, and that the practice may have been a symptom of an advance in art, distinguishing Shakespeare from his ruder predecessors. We believe it to be true that a more plausible case for alternation can be found in Shakespeare than in any other dramatist. In our own examination of the question, so long as we confined our attention to non-Shakespearean plays, we wondered how the theory had ever arisen; but on passing to Shakespeare our wonder disappeared. Let us, then, meet Dr Brodmeier on his own chosen field, and the field most favourable to his operations. We will try to show that while a few scenes may be cited which *might* exemplify the principle of alterna-

is absolutely nonsensical. What becomes, moreover, of the conception of the space behind the doors as a fourth 'Bühnenfeld'? Did Juliet, in 'Capel's Monument,' repose on a spiral staircase?

tion, it is far easier to point to collocations of scenes which set the principle at open defiance.

One could scarcely find a case more plausibly suggestive of alternation than the third, fourth, and fifth scenes of 2 Henry IV, Act v. The third scene, in the quarto of 1600, begins:

Enter SIR JOHN, SHALLOW, SCILENS, DAVY, BARDOLFE, PAGE.

Shallow: 'Nay, you shall see my orchard, where, in an arbour, we will eate a last yeeres pippen of mine owne grafting, with a dish of carrerwaies, and so forth. . . . spread, Davy, spread, Davy, well saide Davy . . . now sit downe, now sit downe, come cosin. . . . Give Master Bardolfe some wine, Davy. . . .'

Davy: 'There's a dish of Lethercoates for you.'

It is clear that Davy spreads a table, at which the others sit down, while Davy serves them; and they have a jovial carouse, interrupted by the arrival of Pistol with the news of the accession of Henry V. The scene absolutely demands a table and four stools, with various dishes, bottles, cups, etc. The arbour may conceivably have been imaginary; but as an arbour was undoubtedly a commonly used property, there is every reason to suppose that it, too, was visibly presented. This means that the stage was pretty well cumbered with properties; and when we find the next scene (Sc. 4), a passage of only some thirty-five lines, between Mrs Quickly, Doll Tearsheet, and the Beadles, it looks very much as though it had been inserted to permit of the unseen removal of the arbour, table, etc., in preparation for Sc. 5, the procession of King Henry from his crowning. But some sort of interlude was required here for other reasons. Falstaff and his companions were to enter at the very beginning of Sc. 5, having ridden up from Gloucestershire; and it was convenient, if not necessary, according to the conventions of the age, to allow a slight interval for so large a jump both in space and time. Moreover, a few minutes were required for changes in the costume of the party. At the end of Sc. 3, Falstaff says, 'Boote, boote, Master Shallow,' indicating that Shallow is to get into riding dress; and he himself, with his henchmen, was to become mud-spattered and travel-stained. Thus it was desirable, apart from all question of clearing away the properties,

that a short scene should be inserted between Sc. 3 and Sc. 5. It is to be noted, too, that near the end of Sc. 3, Falstaff says, 'Carry Master Scilens to bed.' Had a middle curtain shut off the apparatus of the drinking-bout, there is no reason why Silence should not have been left sleeping in his chair. As it was, his removal had to be effected as part of the dramatic action; for, while convention allowed of the removal of inanimate properties in view of the audience by the servitors or stage-hands of the theatre, who were understood to be external to the play, it did not countenance the removal of dead men or drunk men by the same agency. Such, at least, is our interpretation of the passage; but we do not deny that, were the alternation theory otherwise credible, this sequence of scenes might fairly be quoted in confirmation of it.

Another passage, which ought certainly to be a front scene, if front scenes in the alternationist sense existed at all, is 'Richard II,' Act 1, Sc. 4. Here we have a quite short scene of few characters intervening between the scene of the lists at Coventry and the scene of John of Gaunt's death. Was it not inserted to permit of the unseen clearing away of the lists and scaffolding, and bringing on of John of Gaunt's couch? If ever there was an opportunity for the use of a 'middle curtain' and for a 'Vorderbühne' scene, this is certainly it. But, most unfortunately for the alternation theory, the opening stage direction of Sc. 4 in the first Quarto is 'Enter the King with Bushie, &c., at one dore, and the Lord Aumarle at another.' The third Quarto substitutes for 'another' 'the other.' Now the mention of doors is one of the chief criteria of a 'Hinterbühne' scene; for, on the alternationist stage, the closing of the 'middle curtain' would inevitably conceal the doors. We know from a thousand testimonies, that two entrance-doors at least were invariable features of the Elizabethan stage; and it would be unreasonable to doubt that when a playwright said 'door' he meant 'door.' Dr Brodmeier admits this, but argues that, in the previous scene at Coventry, the 'middle curtain' was closed at the point where John of Gaunt and Bolingbroke are left alone on the stage, and that the lists were cleared away during their final colloquy of some thirty lines. But why should the poet have adopted this

device (called by some students a 'split scene') when he had in Sc. 4 a passage which could, without the slightest difficulty, have been acted in front of the 'middle curtain,' if there was such a thing? Here was a case calling aloud for a simple application of the alternation principle; yet Shakespeare, according to Dr Brodmeier, took pains not to apply it in its simplicity. He preferred 'splitting' a whole-stage scene to using as a front-stage scene a brief and unimportant passage intervening between two whole-stage scenes. The argument is excessively far-fetched. A much more probable deduction from the facts is that front-stage scenes, played before a 'middle curtain,' were unknown to Shakespeare's theatre. It is not unlikely that the parting of John of Gaunt and Bolingbroke took place in front of the pillars while the lists were being cleared away behind. But the weight of the evidence is distinctly against the employment of any curtain or curtains to conceal the operation.

Having now examined two of the cases on which the alternation theory might most plausibly be founded, let us look at one of the countless conjunctures which absolutely negative it.

For the most notable of all, perhaps, we need go no further than the last act of 'Hamlet.' As acted on the modern stage, it presents a perfect example of the alternation principle. We have first the graveyard, a long and crowded scene requiring the whole stage. Then there comes a front scene for the conversation between Hamlet, Horatio, and Osric; and while this is in progress the graveyard is cleared away, and the hall is set for the final scene. On the Elizabethan stage, it is true, there was no graveyard picture; but there was the rubbish thrown out of the grave to be shovelled in again, and the grave-trap to be closed; while, for the final scene, there were numerous properties (seats, a table, etc.) to be brought on. Here, if ever, was an imperative opportunity for closing the 'middle curtain' and letting the Hamlet-Horatio-Osric scene take place on the 'Vorderbühne.' Yet it is absolutely certain that Shakespeare did nothing of the kind. It is true that none of the old copies, even down to the fourth Folio, is formally divided into scenes; but that the poet intended the act to consist of only two scenes is manifest from the fact that Hamlet and Horatio,

having re-entered immediately after the graveyard scene, never leave the stage until the end of the play. That there may be no mistake as to the imagined location, Hamlet says to Osric, both in Q₂ and F₁, 'Sir, I will walke heere in the Hall; if it please his Majestie, 'tis the breathing time of day with me; let the Foyles be brought.' Again, in Q₂ (though not in F₁), a lord enters and says, 'My Lord, his Majestie commended him to you by young Ostricke, who brings backe to him that you attend him in the hall. . . . The Kinge, and Queene, and all are comming downe.' Thus Shakespeare seems almost to have gone out of his way to insist that, from the entrance of Hamlet and Horatio onward, the locality remains the same until the end. It may perhaps be suggested that the passage was treated as a 'split scene,' the 'middle curtain' being closed before the entrance of Hamlet and Horatio, and opened before the entrance of the Court. If we admit the existence of middle and lateral curtains, this is no doubt conceivable; but if alternation were an established principle, why adopt the awkward expedient of a 'split scene'? What more simple than to make the Hamlet-Horatio-Osric passage a separate scene (as on the modern stage) by letting Hamlet and Horatio go off at the end of it and re-enter with, or after, the Court?

A very conclusive testimony against that 'middle curtain,' on which the whole alternation theory depends, is to be found in the third and fourth acts of 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream.*' In examining this passage we may find, not only negative evidence in regard to the 'middle curtain,' but affirmative evidence on another point of crucial importance. At the end of Act III Robin Goodfellow, having led the four lovers 'up and downe, and up and downe' until they are exhausted, leaves them all asleep upon the ground. On his exit there follows (in the Folio) the significant stage-direction, 'They sleepe all the Act'—that is to say, all the interact. At the beginning of 'Actus Quartus,' 'Enter Queene of Fairies and Clowne, and Fairies, and the King behinde them.' Titania says to Bottom, 'Come sit thee downe upon this

* Even if it be true that 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream' was written for performance during the marriage festivities of some nobleman, there can be no question that it was acted, and was very popular, on the common stage.

flowry bed,' and there follows Bottom's famous colloquy with Pease-blossom, Cobweb, and Mustard-seed, at the end of which Bottom and Titania fall asleep. Oberon and Puck enter; Oberon frees Titania from the charm, awakens her, and goes off with her, Puck removing the ass-mask from Bottom's shoulders and leaving him asleep upon the 'flowry bed.' At the exit of Oberon, Titania, and Puck, that there may be no doubt as to the position of matters, there is a special stage-direction, 'Sleepers lye still.' Then, 'Winde Hornes. Enter Theseus, Egeus, Hippolita and all his traine.' After the exquisite passage about the 'hounds of Sparta,' Theseus catches sight of the sleeping lovers. 'But, soft, what nimpes are these? . . . Goe, bid the huntsmen wake them with their hornes.' Then follows the curious stage direction, 'Hornes, and they wake. Shout within: they all start up.' These stage-directions place it beyond doubt that from the moment the lovers sank down in sleep until they were awakened by the horns, they remained in full view of the audience, and that even through an interact.* If there was a 'middle curtain' by which at least half the stage could be concealed, what possible motive could there be for keeping them thus exposed to view?

But now we have to ask: what has become of Bottom all this time? At line 107 he has been left sleeping on the 'flowry bed'; then follows the whole long scene between Theseus, Hippolyta, Egeus, and the four lovers; and they all go off at line 204 without having taken the slightest notice of him. Then 'Bottome wakes,' speaks his soliloquy, and 'Exit.' Can we suppose him to have been all the time on the open stage? For light on this point let us look a little farther back. In 'Actus Secundus' (modern editions, Act II, Sc. 2), the fairies having sung Titania asleep, Oberon enters, squeezes the magic juice into her eyes, and goes off. Then ensues a scene of about 120 lines between the four lovers, with Puck mischievously intervening, which brings the act to a close; no one (not even Puck) showing the slightest consciousness of the

* At private theatres, such as the Blackfriars, there was certainly music between the acts. A passage in Webster's *Induction to Marston's 'Malcontent'* renders it doubtful whether this custom was 'received' at the public theatres. The wording of the above-quoted stage-direction, however, makes it clear that some sort of pause between the acts was contemplated.

presence of Titania. 'Actus Tertius' begins 'Enter the Clownes'; and they, with Puck again intervening, have an animated scene of 130 lines before Bottom's song arouses Titania, and she says, 'What Angell wakes me from my flowry bed?' Is it conceivable that she, on her 'property' bank, lay on the open stage during two long scenes, while the actors all sedulously made believe to be unconscious of her? Or is it conceivable that the middle and lateral curtains were closed at Oberon's exit, and that the two long and complicated scenes in question were played on the front stage? Neither of these alternatives is credible. We must suppose Titania's 'flowry bed' to have been placed in some recess which could probably be concealed by curtains, or at any rate could, with reasonable plausibility, be ignored by the actors, who would naturally turn their backs to it. In the same recess the same 'flowry bed' would be placed in Act IV, and there Bottom would slumber peacefully while Theseus was awakening the lovers, and their cross-purposes were being evened out. For our part, we have little doubt that the recess was actually curtained off during the unseemly sleep of Titania in Acts II and III, and of Bottom in Act IV. How notably would the comic effect be enhanced if Bottom put his head through the curtains at the line 'When my cue comes, call me, and I will answer'!

Of the existence and frequent use of such a recess there is an overwhelming mass of evidence. It is possible of course to affirm it without denying the 'middle curtain'; both may conceivably have been employed. But to attempt, like Dr Brodmeier, to operate without any recess, or, in other words, without what we shall henceforth call a Rear Stage (see illustration facing p. 462), is to plunge into a maze of difficulties and impossibilities.

This is very clearly illustrated by Dr Richard Wegener in his book on 'Die Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespeare'schen Theaters,' which is the most careful and important study of the subject yet published. While Dr Brodmeier confines his examination almost entirely to Shakespeare, Dr Wegener alludes to Shakespeare only incidentally, and goes for the main body of his evidence to the other Elizabethans. He sums up entirely against the 'middle curtain,' so far as the 'public' theatres are concerned, but he thinks that at the 'private' theatres such a curtain

was occasionally used for convenience in clearing the stage of properties. He adduces no proof of this distinction, which seems to us highly improbable; but the point need not be here discussed. Any systematic alternation of 'Vorder-' and 'Hinterbühne' scenes Dr Wegener shows to be out of the question. On the subject of the Rear Stage he is quite convincing.

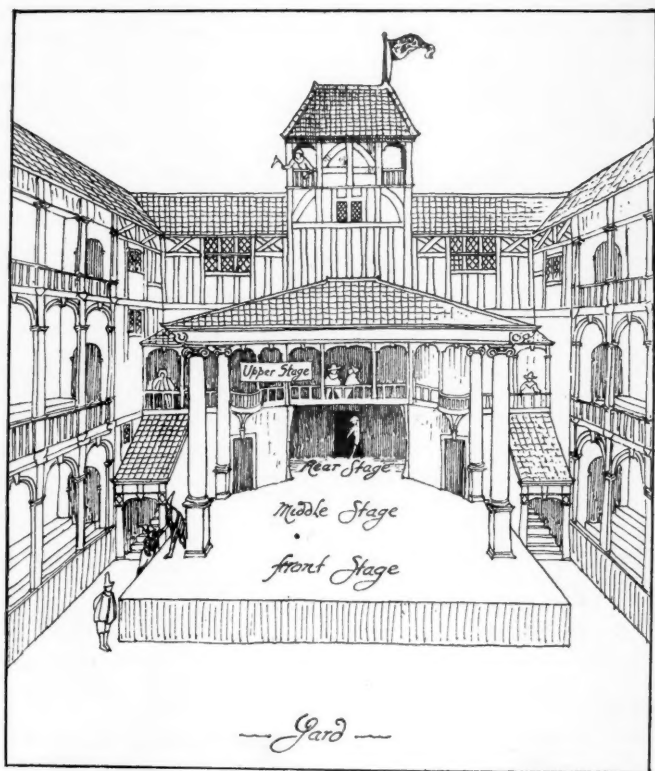
'An assumption' (he says) 'is more than a hypothesis when it enables us to explain the whole body of phenomena simply and without inconsistency. It then becomes a truth, a fully established item of knowledge. Remove the Rear Stage* and there is scarcely a popular play whose staging does not become an insoluble riddle. But if we postulate this stage-region, everything explains itself in the simplest fashion, and the poets' design and course of thought become clear and transparent. The popular dramatists of that time, Shakespeare not excepted, had in their mind's eye, at the back of the main stage, a smaller space, or Rear Stage; otherwise the unanimity would be incomprehensible with which all poets included in their compositions scenes which cannot be placed elsewhere than in such a stage-region.'

Dr Wegener† slightly exaggerates the universal validity of the Rear Stage hypothesis. It solves an immense number of apparent difficulties; but there remains a residue of problems which it leaves obscure. The existence of such a stage-region, however, may be taken as admitted, even by the more moderate 'alternationists.' Dr Brodmeier is almost the only student of the subject who ignores or denies it.

It is noteworthy, with regard to this Rear Stage, that the evidence for it runs through the whole Elizabethan drama from its very beginnings. One would not have been surprised to find it a comparatively late refinement;

* Dr Wegener calls it 'Unterbühne,' in contradistinction to the 'Oberbühne,' the gallery at the back of the stage.

† Dr Wegener, in his otherwise careful and accurate book, more than once accepts as authoritative the garbled stage-directions of modern editors. In one or two cases, moreover, his argument shows a faulty understanding of his English texts. We would specially urge him to reconsider the suggestion (p. 109) that when Slitgut, in 'Eastward Hoe,' climbed the 'famous tree' at Cuckold's Haven, the actor swarmed up a mast specially erected against the side of the Globe Theatre, and had actually before his eyes the river scene which he described. The fact that 'Eastward Hoe' is not stated to have been played at the Globe, but at the Blackfriars, is the smallest objection to this theory.



THE FORTUNE THEATRE.

(Mr Walter H. Godfrey's reconstruction from the builder's contract.)

Dimensions :

Width of Main Stage	43 ft.
Depth of Main Stage to Rear Stage opening	27 ft. 6 in.
Depth of Rear Stage	7 ft.
Width of Rear Stage opening	17 ft.
Height of Rear Stage	12 ft.

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but it occurs so early that it would seem to have been a legacy from the medieval drama. One of the earliest, as well as clearest, proofs of it (which Wegener overlooks, by the way) occurs in Greene's 'Alphonsus, King of Arragon,' probably produced between 1589 and 1591. Here we read, 'Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the *place behind the Stage*, out of which cast flames of fire.' Almost contemporary with 'Alphonsus' is 'Dido, Queen of Carthage,' by Marlowe and Nash, in which we find a very curious instance of the use of the Rear Stage. It is true that this play was acted by the Chapel children, and that we do not know it to have been presented at a regular theatre. None the less does it provide valid evidence of the use which dramatists habitually made of a curtained recess. Near the end of the second act, Æneas, Achates, Ascanius, Dido, Anna, and others, are on the stage. Then we have the direction, 'Exeunt omnes. Enter Venus at another doore, and takes Ascanius by the sleeve.' This means that, unobserved by the others, she detains the child. Then she coaxingly takes him in her arms and lulls him to sleep with a song. This done, she says, 'Sleep, my sweet nephew, in these cooling shades. . . . All shall be still, And nothing interrupt thy quiet sleep, Till I return and take thee hence again.' Then she 'Exit,' evidently leaving Ascanius sleeping in some place which can be curtained off; for there follows a long scene of many persons (including Cupid disguised as Ascanius), during which the sleeping child is unseen; the locality, indeed, being supposed to change to Dido's palace. At the close of this scene, 'Exeunt,' and 'Enter Juno to Ascanius asleep.' This evidently means that at Juno's entrance the curtains are opened, disclosing Ascanius lying where Venus left him. Venus herself presently appears, and she and Juno, after roundly abusing each other, come to an amicable understanding, Ascanius all the time sleeping peacefully. At the end of the scene, Venus says, 'Meantime Ascanius shall be my charge, Whom I will bear to Ida in mine arms, And couch him in Adonis' purple down.' 'Exeunt.' Now, why should Venus carry off the sleeping child, who is quite comfortable where he is? The next scene but one gives us the reason. It opens with the direction, 'The storm. Enter Æneas and Dido in the

cave, at several times.' In other words, the rear stage being required for the fateful cave, Ascanius could no longer occupy it. At the end of the scene the direction is 'Exeunt to the cave'; which doubtless means that they did not play the whole scene on the Rear Stage, but, having come forward in the course of their colloquy, returned at its close to the Rear Stage, and there made their exit, instead of going off by one of the two doors. A cave was one of the places constantly figured by the Rear Stage, others being a study, cell, tomb, shop, counting-house, tent, prison, and bedchamber.

Let us now turn to Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine the Great,' acted, probably, in 1587. Here, in the second part, we have the stage direction :

'Actus I [a misprint; it is in reality Act II]. Scæna ultima. The arras is drawn and Zenocrate lies in her bed of state. Tamburlaine sitting by her; three Physicians about her bed, tempering potions; Theridamas, Techelles, Usumcasane, and the three sons.'

Prof. Baker, of Harvard, whose interesting book on 'The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist' contains a very well-informed chapter on 'The Stage of Shakespeare,' argues that this direction 'demands a large space,' and that the passage which follows, 'to be well seen, must have been given in the space under the "Heavens"'—another term for the 'shadow.' It is difficult, indeed, to conceive that the ten persons enumerated were all grouped about Zenocrate's bed, and remained there throughout the scene. But Prof. Baker does not notice that only four of the characters (Tamburlaine and the three physicians) are stated to have been 'about the bed,' or, in other words, to have formed part of the tableau revealed by the opening of the arras. The other six may quite well have entered by the doors on either side and grouped themselves round the opening of the Rear Stage. Again, even supposing that all ten were disclosed when the arras was drawn, those not immediately concerned about the dying woman would quite naturally spread outwards, and thus relieve the awkward congestion of the Rear Stage. And here we come upon a very important principle which, so far as we know, has not hitherto been stated. One of the main arguments

against the 'middle curtain' is that it is never used to close upon a tableau, or to save any character, living or dead, from the necessity of walking or being carried off the stage. 'But,' it may be said, 'since you admit that characters could be "discovered" by the opening of the curtains in front of the Rear Stage, why should they not have been concealed from view by the closing of the same curtains? Would not your argument in disproof of the "middle curtain" equally disprove the Rear Stage curtains?' A little thought will show the way out of this dilemma. It is always easy on the stage for the characters to advance and scatter, difficult for them to retire and cluster together. More briefly, centrifugal motion seems natural, centripetal more or less artificial. A group of characters revealed on the Rear Stage could very easily come forward; but it would have been very difficult and ludicrous for them all to retreat to it, and form a tableau upon which the curtains should close; and still more ludicrous would it have been for every one who was about to die to make his or her way to the very back of the stage before consenting to give up the ghost. This principle makes it clear why the Rear Stage curtains could be much more freely used for disclosing than for concealing anything in the nature of a tableau. Nevertheless, where there was a definite reason for the characters retiring to the Rear Stage, they sometimes did so, and the curtains were drawn upon them. When Æneas and Dido, for instance, went off 'to the cave,' it was manifestly desirable that the curtains should close; and in this 'Tamburlaine' scene, where Zenocrate's bed afforded a point round which the characters would quite naturally gather, the stage direction at the end is not 'Exeunt,' but 'The arras is drawn.' Indeed, it is one of the strongest arguments for the Rear Stage that, in the infrequent cases in which explicit directions are not given for the removal of dead bodies, we have almost always independent reason for believing that they were in this inner recess, where the curtain, arras, or traverse could be closed upon them.*

* In the sentence above quoted from Professor Baker, he puts his finger on the only real difficulty of the Rear Stage theory, namely, that it is hard to conceive the main portion of so important a scene as the death of Zenocrate acted at the very back of the stage. Dr Wegener suggests

Frequent and convincing evidences of the Rear Stage are to be found in Shakespeare. We select from among them one of the most curious: the passage in 'Romeo and Juliet,' which appears in modern editions as Act IV, Sc. 3-5. Here Dr Brodmeier goes more than usually far astray. He will have it that Juliet delivered her great potion soliloquy on the Upper Stage—an idea unthinkable to any one who can for a moment visualise the scene. But it is not only unthinkable: it is put definitely out of court by a document which Dr Brodmeier seems to have overlooked—the first Quarto of 1597. The execrable text of this Quarto is generally admitted to be stenographic, so that the stage-directions doubtless proceeded from a shorthand-writer who was present (probably several times) at the performance. At the end of the potion soliloquy—'Romeo, I come, this doe I drinke to thee'—the stage direction is, 'She fals upon her bed within the Curtaines.' Then, 'Enter Nurse with hearbs, Mother . . . Enter Oldeman [Capulet] . . . Enter Servingman with Logs and Coales.' Presently the Nurse and Capulet are left alone, when Capulet, hearing the approach of Paris with his 'musicke,' says, 'Nurse, call up my daughter.' The Nurse replies, 'Goe, get you gone. What lambe, what Ladybirde? fast, I warrant'—and so on for five lines, during which she evidently does not open the curtains. She does so, however, at the line, 'Nay then I see I must wake you indeed. What's heere, laid on your bed, drest in your cloathes and down, ah me, alack the day, some Aqua vitæ, hoe.' At her outcries, 'Enter Mother . . . Enter Oldeman . . . Enter Fryer and Paris . . . All at once cry out and wring their hands.' It is evident from the dialogue that they come close up to the bed; and when their lamentations are over, 'They all but the Nurse goe foorth, casting Rosemary on her and shutting

(p. 58), and the idea had independently occurred to us, that there may have been on the Rear Stage a low platform on wheels which could easily be run out and run in again. On this platform (analogous to the *ekkyklema* of the Greeks) Zenocrate's bed might have been placed, and the main part of the scene thus brought further forward. The chief objection to this theory is that, had the platform been an established institution, we might have expected to find some explicit allusion to it. We are not aware of any such allusion; yet the not uncommon stage direction, 'A bed thrust forth' (or words to that effect), seems almost necessarily to imply some contrivance of the sort.

the Curtens.' Then 'Enter Musitions,' the Nurse dismisses them, and 'Exit'; and the scene ends with chatter between the Servingman and the musicians. What can be clearer than this whole proceeding? What more manifest than that the curtains alluded to are not middle and lateral curtains? The passage, indeed, is an instance of vagueness of place, the main stage serving alternately for Juliet's bedroom and for a public room, hall, or corridor; but this is quite in the normal order of things.

For a final and, to our thinking, absolutely conclusive proof of the Rear Stage, we turn to Webster's 'Duchess of Malfy,' which dates from about 1612, and was 'Presented privately at the Black-Friers, and publicly at the Globe, By the King's Majesties Servants.' We all know the scene, so much extolled by Lamb, in which Bosola and his executioners strangle the Duchess. As soon as they have done so Bosola says, 'Where's the waiting-woman? Fetch her: Some other strangle the children.' Then follows, in Dyce's edition, the stage-direction, 'Cariola and the children are brought in by the executioners, who presently strangle the children.' But there is no such direction in the quartos; and we are glad to be able to clear Webster's memory (sufficiently blood-stained at best) of the atrocity of strangling the children on the open stage. It is absolutely certain, on a close inspection of the text, that Dyce, not understanding the construction of the stage, misread the passage. The quartos give no stage direction at all at this place; but we know that Cariola is brought on, because Bosola's next words are, 'Looke you, there sleepes your mistris,' and he exchanges half a dozen speeches with the waiting-woman before she is strangled. When that is done, Bosola says to the executioners, 'Beare her in to th' next roome: Let this lie still.' Possessed by the idea that the children were on the stage, Dyce substituted 'these' for 'this'; but the reading of the quartos is certainly the right one: Bosola is referring to the Duchess alone. Ferdinand immediately enters, saying, 'Is she dead?' Bosola replies, 'Shee is what you'll'd have her: But here begin your pittie'; and then comes the stage-direction, 'Shewes the children strangled.' It is perfectly evident that the children have not hitherto been visible, and that Bosola here raises for a moment the curtain of some recess and shows them

lying dead. If the reader has any doubts let him note this further fact: after Ferdinand has gone off the Duchess revives for a moment, and then definitely dies; whereupon Bosola, soliloquising over her corpse, says, 'Come, I'll beare thee hence And execute thy last will; that's deliver Thy body to the reverend dispose Of some good women.' The stage had to be cleared; the Duchess's body could not be left lying about; so Bosola had to carry it off. But no provision is made for removing the children—and why? Simply because they are not, and never were, on the open stage, but in some curtained recess. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that this recess was what we have called the Rear Stage. It could not have been anything temporarily constructed for the purpose, for in that case how were the children to be conveyed into it and away again unseen? Still less is it credible that the long and crowded scene was acted in front of a 'middle curtain,' the whole space behind it being reserved for the momentary exhibition of the bodies of two children.

Observe, now, that this play is stated, with unusual circumstance and emphasis, to have been played at both a 'public' and a 'private' theatre. Observe, too, that the very absence of definite and explicit stage-directions tends to show that the author relied upon a well-established, clearly-understood form of stage, in view of which his intentions needed no elaborate exposition. Bearing these facts in mind, together with the fact that few indeed are the plays of the period which do not presuppose the existence of some such recess, we surely cannot resist the conclusion that a Rear Stage, which could be curtained off without impeding the view of the two main entrance-doors, was an indispensable feature of the normal Elizabethan playhouse.

It is now time that we should describe in general outline what we conceive to have been the structure of the typical stage,* which Shakespeare and his contemporaries seem almost always to have had in view. We know from the Fortune contract that the stage extended

* We have chiefly in view the stage of the public or unroofed theatres. These theatres, being by many years the first erected, would establish the type; and we find no clear evidence of any marked structural difference between the stage of the public and that of the private houses,

to the 'middle' of the 'yard' or pit, and was protected from the weather by a 'shadow.' That two doors,* visible to the audience, formed the chief means of entrance and exit, is beyond dispute; in so far the Swan drawing is borne out. But it is equally beyond dispute that there must have been other means of access to the stage; and here the Swan drawing entirely fails us. Apart from innumerable passages in which more than two means of egress and regress are imperatively demanded, the evidence of the commonest stage-directions speaks for more than two doors. Out of 43 cases, taken at random, in which doors are mentioned, we find that in 11 cases the wording runs, 'at one door . . . at the other door,' in 21 cases, 'at one door . . . at an other door,' and in 11 cases, 'at several doors.' As 'several' in this phrase means simply 'different,' it carries no implication as to the number of the doors. On the other hand, 'one . . . the other' implies two only, while 'one . . . an other' implies more than two; and of this the plain interpretation surely is that there were, as a matter of fact, three or more doors, but that two were so prominent and so plainly formed a complementary pair that when the playwright or stage manager had them especially in mind, he used the definite article, while he used the indefinite article to imply 'any convenient door.' It cannot be maintained, by the way, that the different forms of expression point to different theatres, some having two doors only and others more than two; for 'one . . . the other' and 'one . . . an other' are not infrequently to be found in the same play. Where, then, are we to place the third† (and the possible fourth and even fifth)

* The doors mentioned in innumerable stage-directions *must* be conceived as visible. A playwright states the point at which an actor is to appear to the audience; he does not lay down the route behind the scenes by which he is to reach that point. It does not follow, of course, that the doors could never be concealed from the audience, though we hold that the evidence points to this conclusion.

† Mr G. F. Reynolds, on p. 7 of his excellent treatise, has assembled a large number of stage-directions in which three entrances are explicitly referred to. For instance, 'Enter three in blacke clokes at three doors' ('Four Prentices of London'); 'Enter Joculo, Frisco, and Mopso at three severall doores' ('Maid's Metamorphosis'). An often-quoted example occurs at the beginning of 'Eastward Hoe': 'Enter Maister Touch-stone and Quick-silver at Severall doores. . . . At the middle dore, Enter Golding discovering a Gold-smith's shoppe.'

entrance? The Rear Stage, or recess between the two main doors, which we have seen to be so indispensable in other respects, comes to our aid here as well. It is certain that there were some means of access to the Rear Stage from behind, since the cases are innumerable in which persons or objects are revealed or concealed upon it. There must, then, have been at least one opening to it; and a little reflection will show us that in all probability (since bulky 'properties' had often to be placed upon and removed from it) access to it would be as little obstructed as possible. Thus there is every reason to suppose that it was not in any true sense of the word a 'niche' or 'alcove,' but rather a corridor, some six or seven feet deep, and open at each end. Nor can we see any reason to doubt that there would be a large door in the middle of its back wall. Why should the Elizabethan playwright have denied himself such an obvious convenience? Apart from stage-directions naming, or clearly pointing to, a 'middle' door, we conceive that this door was habitually used to figure the gate of a town or castle of which the Upper Stage had served as the battlements. For example, it was probably by the middle door that Henry V entered Harfleur. The two other doors had been used for other entrances; it would have been absurd for the Rear Stage curtains to figure the gates of a town; and for Henry and his army to go off by one of the side-entrances to the Rear Stage would have been, under the circumstances, wholly ineffective. Dr Wegener believes that the whole Rear Stage could not only be curtained off, but shut off with doors. The reasons he adduces are plausible; but there are almost insuperable architectural difficulties in the way of this theory.

The existence of an Upper Stage to figure battlements, balconies, windows, etc., is admitted by all parties. There is, indeed, a considerable number of plays in which there is no evidence of its being used; but we cannot assign plays which require the Upper Stage to one theatre and plays which do not require it to another. It seems to have been always there for the playwright to use if he chose. There are some plays, however, which seem to demand that characters placed on the Upper Stage should be able to see what was passing on the Rear Stage; and this is the primary reason which has induced Mr Walter

H. Godfrey, in his recent reconstruction of the Fortune Theatre (p. 462), to bring the Upper Stage forward at both ends, thus placing the main entrance-doors in oblique panels of wall, and providing over each of them a balcony-like projection. There are several other arguments of considerable force for this oblique position of the entrance-doors; but it cannot as yet be said to be proven. That the stage was provided with traps is certain; also that they were freely used. It is certain, too, that some sort of windlass was placed in the upper regions (no doubt in the lower part of the turret) by means of which gods and other aerial beings could be lowered and hauled up again. When we add that the walls were draped with arras hangings, and that the boards themselves were generally strewn with rushes, we have given, perhaps, as clear an outline of the typical Elizabethan stage as the imperfect nature of the evidence permits of our attaining.

Postscript.—Too late for full discussion in this article, a remarkable pamphlet has been published by Mr Victor E. Albright, of Columbia University, entitled 'A Typical Shaksperian Stage' (New York, The Knickerbocker Press). Working, in part at least, from different data, and by different methods, Mr Albright arrives at conclusions very similar to those embodied in Mr Godfrey's Fortune Theatre design (p. 462). His essay is one of the ablest studies of the Elizabethan Theatre that have yet appeared.

WILLIAM ARCHER.

Art. IX.—THE IDEAS OF MR H. G. WELLS.

The Time Machine. London: Heinemann, 1895.—*When the Sleeper Wakes; Love and Mr Lewisham.* London: Harper, 1899, 1900.—*Anticipations; Mankind in the Making.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1902-3.—*The Food of the Gods; Kipps.* London: Macmillan, 1904-5.—*A Modern Utopia; The Future in America.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1905-6.—*Socialism and the Family.* London: Fifield, 1906.—*In the Days of the Comet.* London: Macmillan, 1906.—*New Worlds for Old.* London: Constable, 1908.

REMARKABLE as Mr H. G. Wells is as an individual author, he is still more remarkable as a representative figure. He exhibits in a striking manner the virtues and defects of a new and increasing class in the English *bourgeoisie*. He is a revolutionary fanatic with that doctrinaire cast of mind which, as it used to be more common in France than in England, is sometimes regarded as a mark of race, but which, in matter of fact, is merely the product of a certain kind of intellectual atmosphere and a certain kind of training. He is the child of an age of *schwärmerei*, with the qualities of that age enhanced by a scientific education of a peculiar sort. No inconsiderable part of his originality is due to the fact that he happened to appear in a period of unsettlement, when the English mind was, for the first time, losing hold of the world of experience and groping wildly in a world of theory.

From the epidemic of frantic sciolism produced by the eighteenth century movement of enlightenment, the English middle classes escaped somewhat lightly. Their knowledge was the fruit of experiment rather than of deduction; and a happy play of circumstances enabled them to elaborate, out of their own affairs, the principles of modern industrial civilisation. But their exemption from the general disease of thought of their age was purchased at a heavy price. Having initiated, as a matter of practice, the movement of illumination which the spokesmen of the French *bourgeoisie* adopted as a matter of theory, they acquired a dangerous contempt for mere ideas. Their placidity of mind soon degenerated into

lethargy. They stilled the growing-pains of their intellect by drugging themselves with work; and the result was that they not only ceased to grow, but became, in regard to the things of the mind, childish. In the age of Matthew Arnold and Huxley, however, the soporific commended by Carlyle began to lose somewhat of its efficacy. The more blindly the English middle classes threw themselves into all kinds of mechanic labour the more ample were the means of leisure and luxury which they thereby accumulated. At last, about 1890, the temptation to acquire a taste and display culture grew irresistible; the results were soon to be seen in all the circulating libraries in the kingdom. Grant Allen's novel, 'The Woman Who Did,' is, in its extravagance of sentiment and its ineptitude of thought, a typical example of the literature of this period. The errant sons and daughters of the Philistines tried in vain to assure their emancipation by masquerading, in bacchanalia of nonsense, as the children of light. Their notions were both trite and belated. Emerging from a fabric of conventions erected in the eighteenth century, they accepted the order of ideas contained in the prose of Godwin and the poetry of Shelley as a novel, daring, and profound philosophy of life and society. Of the works of the men of science and learning who, in the later part of the nineteenth century, had overthrown that philosophy, they were as ignorant as the average socialist. Many of them, indeed, were socialists, and especially socialists of the school of thought which found expression in Edward Bellamy's romance, 'Looking Backward.' In fact, the revival of general interest in socialism was the pregnant event of the movement in its first stage. That compound—in its cruder forms—of antiquated theory and unenlightened humanitarianism then began to acquire the vogue which seems now to have made it the most popular of political nostrums.

In fine, the intellectual atmosphere in certain circles in London when Mr Wells came from the country to study at the Normal School of Science was similar to the intellectual atmosphere in certain circles in Paris just before the establishment of the Second Empire. And the description of student life in the Normal School in 1890, given by Mr Wells in his novel,

'Love and Mr Lewisham,' resembles the description of student life in the *École Normale* in 1850, given by Sainte-Beuve in his article on Taine. There is a similar ferment of thought on matters of science and socialism among a similar group of young men, selected from the middle classes, and converted by the training they receive into vigorous but narrow-minded doctrinaires. The student lives in these intellectual furnaces in a state of perpetual excitation and ardent discussion. His intelligence, formed in solitude on science and books, has to discover everything anew for itself, and refashion everything in its own way. Hence he naturally contracts a certain violence and overweeningness of mind, together with a taste for exaggeration. His judgments are trenchant and uncompromising, owing to his lack of those finer shades and correctives of knowledge which are a matter of long experience and unbroken tradition. In impassioned conversations with companions of his own age, he elaborates countless views on the grand problems of life; but of men in themselves, and in their diverse generations and various modes of existence, he does not learn enough to enable him to discern the relation and the distance between ideas and living persons.

In his genius for framing vast and picturesque generalisations on a very narrow ground of fact, Mr Wells, who was a pupil of Huxley, exhibits in a striking way the strange defects of an education based on the study of science. His extraordinary disregard for facts would have astonished his master. But Huxley failed to see, in his famous controversy with Matthew Arnold, that, while science in the making is partly concerned with facts, science in the learning is wholly concerned with generalisations. To the man of science an hypothesis is serviceable only as a means of illustrating some matter of observation or experiment; to the student of science, on the other hand, a matter of observation or experiment is serviceable only as a means of illustrating some current hypothesis. Since the question of the value of science, as the supreme instrument of education, retains all its importance at the present day, it is worthy of remark that Mr Wells himself confesses to a passion for mere speculation and an extreme impatience of facts. The

result of his severe training at the Normal School of Science has been to make him only an amateur of the architectural beauty of science. For the patient, humble builders of the grand fabric of modern knowledge the form and quality of every stone which they quarry and shape, and the weight and solidity of every mass of masonry which they lay, are matters of the gravest consideration. For Mr Wells, however, the picturesqueness and suggestiveness of the glimmering, spacious edifice are the things of main interest. Like certain etchers of Gothic cathedrals, he has studied his subject so well from the point of view of his own art that he can now invent all the material which he requires for his pictures. Indeed he finds this so facile a way of obtaining effects that he inclines to condemn the laborious means which the men he imitates use to an end entirely different. In a recent romance, 'The Food of the Gods, he goes so far as to express an arrogant surprise that the minds of 'the little scientists' who are building up the temple of modern knowledge should be concentrated on small matters of actual fact. He compares Bensington, a character in the story who is represented as a man of Darwin's calibre, to the reef-building coral insects which do not realise the things they are doing.

'No doubt, long ago, even Mr Bensington . . . when he consecrated his life to the alkaloids and their kindred compounds, had some inkling of the vision—more than an inkling. Without some such inspiration . . . what young man would have given his life to such a work, as young men do? No, they *must* have seen the glory, they must have had the vision, but so near that it has blinded them' (p. 7).

Poor, blind 'little scientists'! It is a pity Huxley did not live to thank his clearer-sighted pupil for revealing to him the vision and the glory of modern science. Huxley's letter of gratitude would have been worth reading, for he was a writer with a remarkable gift of incisive expression. Perhaps it would have been an expansion of that passage in his destructive criticism of some other framers of modern Utopias, in which he canvassed one of the favourite notions of Mr Wells.

'There is a prevalent idea that the constructive genius is in itself something grander than the critical, even though the

former turns out to have merely made a symmetrical rubbish-heap in the middle of the road of science which the latter has to clear away before anybody can get forward.' ('Method and Results,' p. 425.)

If Mr Wells has the same capacity for standing hard blows as he has for dealing them, a reply of this sort would not disconcert him. Besides, he is so frankly unstable in his opinions as to elude direct attack. 'I will point out the defects in my earlier works in order that you may confide in the maturer powers of judgment which I display in this'; such, in effect, is the admission with which he meets the critic in the introduction to 'The Future in America.' His passion for speculating on mere possibilities has made him, he explains, 'a little insensitive' to all the noble things that mankind has achieved and preserved, and very vacillating in his habits of thought.

'One made fantastic exaggerations, fantastic inversions of all recognised things. Anything of this sort might come, anything of any sort. The books about the future that followed the first stimulus of the world's realisation of the implications of Darwinian science, have all something of the monstrous, experimental imaginings of children. . . . Almost the first thing I ever wrote . . . was of this type. "The Man of the Year Million" was presented as a sort of pantomime head and a shrivelled body; and, years after that, the "Time Machine," my first published book, ran in the same vein. . . . [In] the next phase . . . one becomes more systematic, one sets to work to trace the great changes of the last century or so, and one produces these in a straight line according to the rule of three. If the maximum velocity of land travel in 1800 was twelve miles an hour, and is in 1900, let us say, sixty miles an hour, then one concludes that in 2000 A.D. it will be three hundred miles an hour. . . . In that fashion one got out a sort of gigantesque caricature of the existing world, everything swollen to vast proportions and massive beyond measure. In my case that phase produced a book, "When the Sleeper Wakes." . . . One [next] attempts a rude, wide analysis of contemporary history, one seeks to clear and detach operating causes, and to work them out, and so . . . to achieve a synthetic forecast in terms just as broad and general and vague as the causes considered are few. I made, it happens, an experiment in this scientific sort of prophecy in a book

called "Anticipations." . . . Within certain limits . . . I still believe this scientific method is sound. . . .

'But from the first I felt distrust for that facility in prophesying. I perceived that always there lurked something, an incalculable opposition to these mechanically conceived forces. . . . That, by an easy transition, brought me to the last stage in the life-history of the prophetic mind as it is at present known to me. One comes out on the other side of the "scientific" method, into the large temperance, the valiant inconclusiveness, the released creativeness of philosophy' (pp. 10-16).

After making use of so candid an essay in self-criticism it may seem unchivalrous to investigate any further the weaknesses of a man of Mr Wells' genius. Our excuse for pressing whatever advantage we may have obtained is that we do not find in his last two books, 'Socialism and the Family' and 'In the Days of the Comet,' any suggestion of the 'valiant inconclusiveness' of which he spoke in 'The Future in America.' Perhaps it is a case of 'Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor'; for he seems to us to be now more wrong-headedly dogmatical than before. Moreover, there is involved a nice problem in psychology, the solution of which attracts us. How could a writer of no mean intellectual power, who in 1901, in his 'Anticipations,' fiercely attacked socialism as a vain theory long since discredited by Malthus and Darwin, and who in 1903, in his 'Mankind in the Making,' defended the institution of monogamy, have found in 1906 salvation in socialism and a glimpse of heaven in a wild dream of a new earth peopled by polyandrous houris and polygamous demi-gods? As a matter of fact, Mr Wells is a Frankenstein who has been frightened out of his senses by a horde of spectral monsters which he invented in the irresponsible days of his youth, when he indulged his genius for 'fantastic exaggerations, fantastic inversions of all recognised things.'

As works of fantasy some of these monsters are admirable. They possess something of the decorative ugliness of the demons of Japanese art. In his excursions in sociology Mr Wells exhibits the talent of a brilliant and suggestive, but narrow-minded and one-sided critic. This talent, directed by a deep but indiscriminate sense of wrong, and enhanced by an uncommon power of

imagination, made him in his younger, wilder days, a satirist of no little force. The inveterate inurbanity of his style prevents us from comparing him in a general way with Swift. He never addresses the reader as an equal, in a quiet, simple, and persuasive manner. In the preface to 'A Modern Utopia' he asks us to 'figure' the author

'as sitting a little nervously, a little modestly, on a stage, with table, glass of water, and all complete, and . . . a sheet behind . . . on which moving pictures intermittently appear.'

That, unfortunately, is exactly how we do 'figure' him. The affectations in diction, the awkward gestures, the air of uneasy superiority, the loud voice and the magic lantern, by means of which lecturers of a certain sort try to command the attention of an uncultivated audience—these things Mr Wells' way of expressing himself only too often calls to our mind.

Through all this uncouthness, however, the passion and the power of the writer still shine; and on some points the comparison between him and Swift does not seem to us to be inept. 'When the Sleeper Wakes' and 'The Time Machine' are good examples of his satirical genius. These two tales are based upon one of those ideas which the amateur of science, anxious to startle an indifferent public, is tempted to catch up from current scientific literature and develope in an extravagant manner. When Mr Wells was studying science and discussing socialism at South Kensington, Romanes succeeded in exciting considerable interest in a new theory of the origin of species. Its author, Mr J. T. Gulich, having observed that the form and colour of the shells of snails in the Sandwich Islands varied according to the locality, concluded that the diversity of species was the result of in-breeding produced by segregation. Men with cautious minds, however, held to the ideas of Darwin; and at the present day the theory of the regulative action of natural selection on mutations, or sudden and important 'sports' which are secured against decadence by prepotence, is conceived to be sufficient to account for the facts of the evolution of life.

Naturally, Mr Wells was not among the men with cautious minds. His eyes were fixed upon the future;

and Darwinism, an old, orthodox and complex doctrine bearing on matters of the past, was of little use to him. The hypothesis of segregation, on the other hand, was a novel, heretical, and simple notion, which, as it seemed to permit the speculator to neglect the incalculable, disconcerting factor of 'sports,' reduced prophecy to an affair of slight and facile generalisation. Mr Wells had only to glance at modern conditions of life in order to divine the disastrous event to which the process of segregation was working. Mankind was rapidly splitting up into two new species. On the one side was the pleasure-loving, witty, and graceful type; on the other, the sombre, mechanically-industrious, inartistic type. 'The gradual widening of the present merely temporary and social difference between the capitalist and the labourer was the key to the whole position' ('The Time Machine,' p. 82). This idea is of course the grand fallacy in the literature of socialism from Fourier to Marx; but Mr Wells redeemed it from commonplaceness by the ingenuity and impartiality with which he worked it out. As an amateur of socialism he pitied the imaginary inferior race; as an amateur of science he foresaw the triumph of the *Uebermensch*; and this he depicts in wild lights and lurid shadows in 'When the Sleeper Wakes.' Instead of framing, out of the best elements of contemporary life, the idea of an earthly paradise, in the manner of More, he fashions out of its worst elements the idea of a terrestrial inferno in the manner of Swift.

The sleeper of the story is a modern socialist who awakes out of a trance of two hundred years, in a London of titanic edifices roofed in from the weather and inhabited by thirty-two million people. All the sinister forces of a purely industrial civilisation have been allowed to expand unchecked. The result is a vivid caricature of those ideals of Chicago which were set out some time ago in the 'Letters from a self-made Merchant to his Son.' There are some acute observations on the same subject in Mr Wells' later work, 'The Future in America,' wherein socialism is preached as the only solution of the tremendous questions which the great Republic has to face. But in this work, it is needless to say, the criticism is not so fine and subtle as that contained in Mr Henry James' impressions of travel 'The American Scene'; and

moreover, the value of the more recent book is diminished by the extravagantly socialistic attitude therein adopted. Mr Wells is more brilliant, while, at the same time, he is more impartial, in his earlier satire, 'When the Sleeper Wakes.' He there depicts a world governed under a system of industrial feudalism by an oligarchy of hard, energetic, and unscrupulous men of business, armed with all the machinery of modern science and supported by a negro police. One third of mankind works in a state of brutish serfdom in underground factories; a remnant of the middle classes is also sinking from a condition of dependency to a condition of servitude; while cities of pleasure, built along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea for the delectation and destruction of those weaker members of the governing race who prefer the delights of the senses to the joys of power, eliminate the epicurean element in the aristocracy, and confirm, by way of reaction, in the men of a staid nature the pagan virtues of self-knowledge and self-control.

So far the satire is almost as deeply coloured with socialistic feeling as is 'The Future in America.' In accordance with the theory invented by Fourier and appropriated by Marx, the development of an individualistic policy is traced from the rise of a network of monopolies to the establishment of a tyrannical plutocracy. A French or a German writer would probably have concluded the tale at this point; and Mr Wells, with a fine touch of irony, has provided the machinery for this purpose. The sleeper is a modern socialist and heir to the immense accumulated wealth on which the power of the oligarchy rests. The populace is waiting for him to arise and bring in the millennium. A tyrant appears, organises the mob, and awakens the sleeper; and a revolution takes place in which the oligarchy is routed. The socialist and the tyrant afterwards fight out, single-handed, the question as to the future mode of government of the world. And the socialist of course wins? No. That is the dramatic surprise which Mr Wells skilfully engineers. He had read Carlyle on 'Heroes' before he studied Marx on 'Capital,' and, in spite of his sympathy with certain socialistic ideas, he still admired, above all others, the capable, masterful individual whose creative and organising genius is the

great instrument of progress in civilisation. The tyrant in 'When the Sleeper Wakes' is a philosopher of the Nietzschean school; and some of his sayings are worth citing by way of illustrating one phase of Mr Wells' thought.

'The day of the common man is passed. . . . The common man now is a helpless unit. In these days we have an organisation complex beyond his understanding. . . . There is no liberty, save wisdom and self-control. Liberty is within, not without. It is each man's own affair.

'Suppose . . . that these swarming, yelping fools get the upper hand of us, what then? They will only fall to other masters. . . . Let them revolt, let them win and kill me and my like. Others will arise—other masters. The end will be the same. . . . What right have they to hope? The hope of mankind, what is it? That some day the Over-man may come; that some day the inferior, the weak and the bestial may be subdued or eliminated. Their duty—it's a fine duty too!—is to die. The death of the failure! That is the path by which the beast rose to manhood, by which man goes on to higher things' (pp. 235-39).

If that were Mr Wells' first idea of the manner in which the theory of natural selection ought to be reduced to practice, no wonder he inclined to a gentler hypothesis of the origin of species by segregation! Mere elimination serves at best only to maintain a race at a certain level. It does not provoke the mutations which are the prime factor in evolution. These, we fancy, are most likely to occur in the order of men with rather unstable temperaments which ranks lowest in Mr Wells' scale of efficacy. But in any event neither elimination nor segregation avail much if we may believe in the tales of the traveller on 'The Time Machine.' This man was a very skilful inventor. Having discovered that there were really four dimensions, three being the three planes of space, and the fourth being time, he devised a machine by which he was able to travel down the tract of years far more rapidly than we can move upon the surface of the earth. His experiences were certainly remarkable.

'I am afraid I cannot convey the peculiar sensations of time-travelling. . . . As I put on pace, night followed day like the flapping of a black wing, . . . and I saw the sun

hopping swiftly across the sky, leaping it every minute, and every minute marking a day. . . . Then, in the intermittent darknesses, I saw the moon spinning swiftly through her quarters from new to full, and had a faint glimpse of the circling stars. Presently, as I went on, still gaining velocity, the palpitation of night and day merged into one continuous grayness; the sky took on a wonderful deepness of blue, a splendid luminous colour like that of early twilight; the jerking sun became a streak of fire, a brilliant arch, in space; the moon, a fainter fluctuating band; and I could see nothing of the stars, save now and then a brighter circle flickering in the blue.

‘The landscape was misty and vague. . . . I saw trees growing and changing like puffs of vapour, now brown, now green; they grew, spread, shivered, and passed away. I saw huge buildings rise up faint and fair, and pass like dreams. The whole surface of the earth seemed changed—melting and flowing under my eyes. . . . Presently I noted that the sun-belt swayed up and down, from solstice to solstice, in a minute or less, and that, consequently, my pace was over a year a minute; and minute by minute the white snow flashed across the world, and vanished, and was followed by the bright, brief green of spring’ (pp. 29, 30).

After a voyage of eight hundred thousand years the traveller alighted, expecting to be amazed at the development of mankind. The earth was a tangled waste of strange, beautiful bushes and flowers, a neglected and yet a weedless garden. It was peopled by a race of pretty, graceful creatures, only four feet high and indescribably frail, whose days were spent in eating fruit and sleeping and love-making. In the matter of intelligence they were on the level of children five years of age. This was what the victory of the ‘Over-man’ had ended in! The serfs had been subdued and driven back into their underground factories, and the aristocracy had obtained one triumph after another over nature until all diseases had been stamped out, and all the hard, invigorating conditions of life removed. Then, ‘vaincue par sa conquête,’ the higher race had degenerated in the paradise from which it had exorcised the spirit of evil which had provoked its strength. And the same dehumanisation which too easy a life had effected in the lords of the upper world, had been produced in the slaves of the nether earth by too brutal and empty a way

of existence. The artisans, reduced at last to mechanical tenders of intricate machinery, the principle of which they were not required, or allowed, to understand, had gradually lost in their subterranean factories vigour and intelligence, and become noisome beasts of prey with nocturnal habits. What they preyed on is a thing best left to the imagination.

Mr Wells, however, is, without the excuse of madness, as explicit in the matter as Swift was in his 'Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People being a Burden.' One is at times inclined to agree with Taine and other French critics, that English literature, for all its magnificence, is the work of a race of barbarians. Mr Wells seems to have at least one trait of the barbaric mind—superstitiousness. As we have remarked, he is now haunted by the gruesome creatures of his imagination. Some of the ways in which he has tried to lay these spectres are as curious as those adopted in similar cases by African witch-doctors. He has endeavoured to transform a few of the phantoms into gracious and noble giants by feeding them on 'The Food of the Gods,' hoping to slay, with the help of these giants, all the other bugbears. Then he has fled in despair to a remote star and entrenched himself there behind the walls of 'A Modern Utopia.' And, finally, he has returned to earth, 'In the Days of the Comet,' with a magical green vapour by means of which he now expects to change all the children of men, from whom the monsters which harass his prophetic soul are fated to descend, into a race of divinities with the beauty of person and the laxity of manners of the gods and goddesses of Homer.

'The Food of the Gods,' however, seems to be the specific in which he has most faith. The story of the discovery of this marvellous drug resembles the story of the discovery of the modern science of evolution. Invented by a man with Darwin's patient strength of mind, and acclaimed by a physiologist with something of Huxley's brilliant genius, it was received at first with general disfavour. Even when it became generally known that a method had been found which enabled mankind to grow in power at an amazing rate, few men, besides the professor of physiology and a certain

civil engineer, cared to bring their children up on the new food. According to Mr Wells the food was denounced by Mr Frederic Harrison as vulgar and inconsistent with the teaching of Comte, and condemned in the public schools and universities as subversive of the humane standard of life which had been fixed once and for ever by the great writers of classic literature. When, however, a proposal was made that the food should be used in elementary schools, it became a matter of practical politics. Terrified by a vision of a proletariat of famished giants, the government formed a committee to restrict the sale of the drug. In this course the promoters of the food concurred. Like Mr Wells, they had been frightened by the apparition of Caddles. Caddles was a peasant who, by mischance, had been brought up on the new food, and had grown into a young giant with great bodily strength and little intellectual power. In blind discontent with the common conditions of life he struck work and marched on London. Here he lived by breaking open baker's shops and stealing bread; and the result was a street riot in which Caddles and several soldiers perished. This tragic and futile rebellion, unhappily, had a disastrous effect upon the character of the revolution which the more enlightened giants were trying to bring about in a gradual and peaceful manner. They had been quietly spreading the new food throughout the earth, and breeding, out of the best elements of all classes in every country, a race of great men to co-operate in the work of re-organisation.

'In America, all over the continent of Europe, in Japan, in Australia, at last all over the world, the thing was working towards its appointed end. . . . And men . . . told one another "there was no change in the essential order of things." . . . There came to men's ears stories of things the giant boys could do, and they said "wonderful!" without a spark of wonder. . . . These children, said the popular magazines, will level mountains, bridge seas, tunnel your earth to a honeycomb. "Wonderful!" said the little folks, "isn't it? What a lot of conveniences we shall have!" . . . They who lived in those days were too much among these developments to see them together as a single thing' (pp. 153, 156).

Caddles' vain essay in anarchy, however, put an end to this plan. The government, in alarm, collected an army

to capture all the giants and prevent any more food from being manufactured; and henceforward the revolution was carried on in a series of fierce battles in which the new race was continuously successful. The romance ends with a speech by the youthful leader of the giants:

"These people are right. After their lights, that is. . . . They were right in trying to massacre us. . . . They know . . . that you cannot have pigmies and giants in one world together. . . . The pigmies might even, perhaps, attain a sort of pigmy millennium, make an end to war, make an end to over-population, (and) sit down in a world-wide city to practise pigmy arts, worshipping one another till the world begins to freeze.

"It is not that we would oust the little people from the world in order that we, who are no more than one step upwards from their littleness, may hold their world for ever. It is the step we fight for, and not ourselves. We are here, brothers, to what end? To serve the spirit and the purpose that has been breathed into our lives! . . . We fight not for ourselves, but for growth—growth that goes on for ever. . . . To grow according to the will of God! To grow out of these cracks and crannies, out of these shadows and darkenesses, into greatness and the light! . . . To grow at last into the fellowship and understanding of God. Growing—till the earth is no more than a footstool, . . . till the spirit shall have driven fear into nothingness and spread"—he swung his arm heavenward—"There!" For one instant he shone, looking up fearlessly into the starry deeps, mail-clad, young and strong, resolute and still. Then the light . . . passed, and he was no more than a great black outline against the starry sky—a great black outline that threatened with one mighty gesture the firmament of heaven and all its multitude of stars' (pp. 310, 315, 317).

Extravagant as the idea is, there is something of the material sublime about it. The imagination of man has never conceived a wilder project than this, which forms a magnificent close to a very striking allegory on the progress of modern science. We are not surprised to find in 'A Modern Utopia' that the notion has become the ground of all the religion which Mr Wells seems to possess.

I think very much of the Night of this World, the time when our sun will be red and dull, and air and water will lie frozen

together in a common snowfield where now the forests of the tropics are steaming. I think very much of that, and whether it is indeed God's purpose that our kind should end, and the cities we have built, the books we have written, all that we have given substance and a form, should lie dead beneath the snows. . . . I remember that one night I sat up and told the rascal stars very earnestly how they should not escape us in the end' (p. 307).

For Mr Wells takes a pagan view of human life. Walking by sight, and not by sight and faith together, he regards merely the material phenomena of things and not their spiritual essence. Of all that the individual soul achieves in its strange, solitary pilgrimage on earth, he distinguishes and esteems that very little part only which contributes directly to the mundane welfare of the human race. In appearance this is a scientific standard of ethics; in reality it is merely a degradation of the religious idea of morality, consequent on a vain attempt to rationalise man's secondary mystic relation with humanity by ignoring his primary mystic relation with the divine. There is no scientific standard of ethics. From the point of view of science the future welfare of the species is ultimately as vain a thing as the immediate welfare of the individual, for the species and the individual are alike subject to the law of evolution and dissolution. Of course, when the belief in the permanency of the human race reaches the pitch of fanaticism, it is easy for any man to disregard the point of view of science and speculate in the illimitable inane, where the number of illusions he can invent, on which to ground his prejudices, is restricted only by the range and power of his imagination. But the defect of this method is that it gives varying results. Mr Wells, for instance, bases his theory of socialism on a vision of humanity colonising all the habitable planets in the universe. Condorcet, on the other hand, founds his theory of individualism on the dream of mankind discovering an elixir of immortality which will empty of meaning the question of the welfare of future generations.

In regard to the most brilliant notion in 'A Modern Utopia,' in which the idea of the army of the giants of modern science in 'The Food of the Gods' is developed into a scheme for the establishment of an order of

'Samurai,' or lay priests of ascetic habits of life, devoted to the furtherance of the general mundane interests of humanity, Mr Wells candidly admits his indebtedness to Plato. But, as his training in history has not been so thorough as his training in science, he does not seem to know how often the idea of the guardians in the 'Republic' has been acted on, and how often it has been proved impracticable. The story of every famous monastic order shows what too rigid and complete an organisation of the moral and spiritual energies of any age inevitably ends in. The stronger, the more efficient the machinery of regimentation, the sooner does a sort of fossilisation, if not a sort of decay, set in.

Human nature cannot continuously be run into moulds however fine. It is a plant which grows, and it grows strongest when it grows freely. No doubt there is existing in the world at the present day a scattered body of fine spirits in various walks of life. As they have grown up in an age of liberty, struggle, and incitement it is possible that they are, on the whole, more enlightened, more capable, and more numerous than were the men who gathered about St Francis of Assisi and St Louis of France. So long as present conditions obtain, so long will this body of fine spirits continue to grow in number, in virtue, and in power. The very difficulties of their position are a source of strength. There is no need for them to construct in haste some system of material organisation which would lift them above their fellow-creatures and afterwards impede the free development of soul of their successors. They are united already in an ideal communion. Though, for the most part, they dwell in loneliness, far away from each other, their minds breathe the same spiritual air, and, soaring above their earthly surroundings, assemble and converse in the same ethereal altitudes. Ah, Mr Wells, it is not in revolutions, by Act of Parliament, or by main force, that the spirit of man grows in beauty, wisdom, and holiness! Growth is a tardy thing, and commonly that which grows most slowly lasts the longest.

Happily, Mr Wells is a man of varying moods. On the one hand, he is the artificial creature of an education based on abstract science, to whose cold, unmoved intelligence the life of humanity is a colourless spectacle

which interests him as a kind of problem merely by reason of its possible developments.

'At times (he says) I suffer from the strangest sense of detachment from myself and the world about me; I seem to watch it all from the outside, from somewhere inconceivably remote, out of time, out of space, out of the stress and tragedy of it all.' ('The War of the Worlds,' p. 46.)

This is the mood in which he inclines to become a meddling, hasty, impatient fanatic, with an aggressive creed of Calvinistic socialism in which there is neither help and pity for the weak, nor scope and liberty for the strong.

On the other hand, there is in him a child of nature who is as little concerned as Charles Dickens was with the frigid, logical, scientific study of mankind. In this mood he is a fine novelist, the idiosyncrasy of whose genius resides in the power of quick and winning sympathy with which he irradiates every petty, commonplace detail in the life of the lower-middle classes. Far from despising those whom the stern socialists of the vegetarian school account dull and base, he exerts all the might of his imagination in an endeavour to exalt the humble and put down the mighty. Like Dickens, with whom he has much more in common than Gissing had, he shows a happier touch in revealing the merits of the meek and lowly than in exposing the failings of the rich and noble. Vivid as is the gift for satire which he exhibits in other directions, he cannot get a scantling of truth and sharpness into his caricatures of overbearing village squires and supercilious ladies of the manor. But how fresh and clear, on the other hand, is the picture of the poor rustic scholar in 'Love and Mr Lewisham'! How tender the humour, and how light and telling the touch with which the story of his struggle between love and ambition is depicted! It is, we think, the cheeriest biographical novel in recent English literature, and the most interesting. Without any of the cumbrous apparatus employed by the writers of the psychological school, Mr Wells succeeds in conveying a very definite impression of the vacillations of mind of the younger generation of the English middle classes between 1890 and 1895.

Probably 'Love and Mr Lewisham' is not so popular a novel as 'Kipps,' but to our mind it is the more finished

work. It is more of a piece, a tissue of exquisite realism in which the actual colours of life are subdued by being blended. The first part of 'Kipps,' however, is better than anything else which Mr Wells has written. Kipps himself strikes us as one of the most life-like personages in modern fiction. Few of even the best of our novelists of the younger generation are able to create a character of this kind, which lives and moves with an energy of its own in the memory of the reader. In regard to the conduct of the action, Mr Wells is less fortunate. A striking, original plot which does not exceed the bounds of verisimilitude is as rare a thing in modern fiction as is a striking, original character. The touch of the magic wand which lifts Kipps from the position of a draper's assistant to the rank of a man of wealth and leisure, changes the story of his struggles into the only kind of fairy-tale which does not entertain us. The narrative loses its close relation to life just at that point at which the relation becomes very interesting. And what makes the use of this primitive machinery for effecting a revolution in the plot especially irritating is the fact that it is quite unnecessary. In the precarious existence of the drifting part of our lower-middle classes there is sufficient of the genuine stuff of romance to enable a writer with Mr Wells' gifts to make a novel of manners dealing with that existence as full, if so he wished, of hazard, variety, and sudden change as is an ordinary novel of adventure.

At present, we are afraid, Mr Wells wishes only to make his novels the vehicle for the exposition of certain socialistic theories. It is a great pity that a novelist with so lively a sense of the picturesque, so impressive an imagination, and so gracious a power of sympathetic insight, should have been drawn into a frothy movement of enlightenment in which his natural genius is dwarfed and distorted. We do not think that he will become the 'Luther of Socialism,' of whom he speaks in 'Love and Mr Lewisham.' He lacks the soul of iron and the colour-blindness of the systematiser. The stream of his feelings does not run in the same direction as that in which the current of his thoughts has, unhappily, been turned. Hence his continual alterations of opinion. His polemical works are written with a view to convincing himself. But he cannot make up his mind. He is not, like Mr

G. B. Shaw, a gay and curious sceptic by nature, who has taken up socialism as the latest and most perverse form of intellectual dilettantism. Mr Wells is in earnest, but he is not certain what he is in earnest about. He wants to reduce everything into some formula which he can swear by; but whenever he rises into the cold, grey world of misty abstractions in which the makers of rigid systems dwell, he is enticed down to the warm, green earth by the sounds, the stir, the hues, and the fulness of real life. So he vacillates in a strange, spiritual unrest; being, on the one hand, an anarchist, who would destroy, out of wild, personal discontent, a civilisation on which rests everything that he loves and admires; and, on the other, a troubled, anxious, questioning spirit, seeking vainly amid the shows of time for the eternal foundations of religious faith.

Postscript.—Since the above article was written, Mr Wells has made, in 'New Worlds for Old,' a strange attempt to mitigate the feeling of uneasiness produced among the more sober-minded socialists by the 'glorious anarchism' of 'In the Days of the Comet.' This is the manner in which he now tries to win over men of the stamp of Mr Sidney Webb:

'That Anarchist world, I admit, is our dream; ... but the way to that is through education and discipline and law. Socialism is the preparation for that higher Anarchism. ... Socialism is the school-room of true and noble Anarchism, wherein by training and restraint we shall make men free' (p. 257).

Having thus confused the extreme form of coercion with the extreme form of licence, Mr Wells goes on to confound all legitimate and practical matters of constructive politics with illegitimate and impracticable theories of socialism. This, of course, is the method of the Fabian Society. In our judgment, however, the achievements and traditions and spirit of a Christian people, with an incomparable experience in the working of free institutions, afford a surer and a larger base for all real social reforms than the fallacious and destructive hypotheses of collective ownership of property and bureaucratic tyranny on which Mr Wells founds his vision of 'a glorious anarchism.'

Art. X.—A *GENRE* PAINTER AND HIS CRITICS.

Life and Works of Vittorio Carpaccio. By the late Prof. Gustav Ludwig and Prof. Pompeo Molmenti. Translated by R. H. (Hobart) Cust. With numerous illustrations in photogravure and half-tone. London : Murray, 1907.

THAT there are artists' painters and poets' painters is often acknowledged. It is only fair, seeing at how many points his activities touch on art, that the archivist too should be rewarded by having his special painter. True it is that to some extent the archivist has made most of the old masters more or less his own, has at times obtruded his own special scale of values where the artist's would be found more commensurate; but still it is right that here and there an artist be handed over body and soul to the archivist for dissection. An artist pre-eminently fitted for this purpose is Carpaccio, and he found in the late Dr Ludwig precisely the archivist to do him justice. It is true that, half a century ago, he fell, by some odd mistake, into the hands of a poet and dreamer; but Ruskin had so great a capacity for subjective vision, he saw so clearly through Carpaccio to his own personal predilections, his own emotional habits and prejudices, that Carpaccio remained practically unaffected by his employment as a medium. Ruskin in his study revealed to the world much that was of interest about himself—his intransigent Protestantism, his odd sincerity, his sensibility, his tenderness, and a thousand other quaint or endearing characteristics—but they are, it so happens, characteristics of Ruskin and not of Carpaccio.

By some odd twist in his nature, passing by the many great Italian artists in whom a constant religious exaltation and a deep ethical purpose might indeed be discovered, he pitched on two minor artists, Luini and Carpaccio, and expended on them the wealth of his emotional nature. Of these artists, Luini may perhaps have been religious in a rather mawkish and trivial manner, but Carpaccio was, at least so far as he reveals himself in his art, singularly devoid of religious, or indeed of any rarefied or spiritual imagination. If proof were wanted of this, which stares the impartial observer in the

face from any one of his delightful narrative pieces, it is surely to be found in the precocity with which this naïve fifteenth century artist anticipated already a choice of subject which might seem to belong by right to Félicien Rops or Forain. I allude, of course, to the picture of two ladies in the *Correr*. Ruskin, confronted with this most curious and, for the period, unexpected clue to Carpaccio's personal tastes, is not abashed for a moment. He thinks, it is true, that the motive of the picture is satirical because of the suggestion of idleness and luxury, but he appears entirely unconscious of the ladies' profession, surmises, indeed, that they are mother and daughter, and actually pronounces the painting, in a burst of misplaced eloquence, the finest painting in the world. It is certainly a very interesting comedy of manners at a period when such documents are very scarce, but it would be difficult for any less soaring imagination than Ruskin's to find in it qualities comparable, nay, superior, to those shown by de Hooghe, Van Eyck, Giorgione, Titian, Bewick, Landseer, Hunt, Turner. This amazing list is given in Ruskin's order.

It is indeed very difficult to find out through what intricate involutions, through what mazy wanderings of his spirit, Ruskin arrived at his paradoxical conclusions about Carpaccio. One must suppose, as always with Ruskin, first of all, a certain æsthetic thrill set up perhaps by Carpaccio's restrained sensuousness of colour, then perhaps some happy combination of external conditions such as occur so easily in Venice. Then, on Carpaccio's side, we have his habit, essentially a frivolous and thoughtless one, of putting into his pictures every kind of costume, type, animal, plant or thing which amused him or attracted his ever vagrant fancy for the moment. This habit, though highly reprehensible, indeed impossible in a great imaginative artist is, of course, one of those engaging vices which endear a smaller man like Carpaccio; but it becomes the foundation, under Ruskin's already impassioned and distorted gaze, of the whole colossal fabric of Carpaccio's reputation as an artist with a deep spiritual, presumably Protestant, message. For, to a mind like Ruskin's, any object may become symbolic of almost any idea; and, where there is such a wealth and clutter of unrelated objects to be found in the picture,

it will go hard with the critic if some things cannot be made to fit, symbolically, of course, with almost any spiritual truth which the critic happens to be interested in. In truth the net is drawn so wide that nothing can slip through. In St George fighting the dragon, St George is to typify Purity, that is the theorem; then, if Carpaccio gives him a white horse, it becomes obvious at once, since white stands for purity; but it so happens that Carpaccio gives him a dark brown, almost black, horse. To the symbolist this provides but a moment's check. St George is Purity, but he needs the strength of the lower nature to bear him into battle. Brown horses are the strongest, therefore St George represents Purity; *q.e.d.* There is no gainsaying such argument. Carpaccio might rise from the dead and disclaim any such fine intentions in his delightfully simple art; it would not move the symbolist from his impregnable position.

But I am not concerned here to make fun of Ruskin's exposition of Carpaccio, the more so that, besides having much beauty of language, St Mark's Rest contains certain dimly-guessed æsthetic *aperçus* of so profound a nature that we have not yet quite arrived at understanding them fully. But it is, I think, necessary, if we are to get at all at the real Carpaccio, to sweep aside the whole of this symbolic superstructure. On these lines one might prove that Frith's Derby Day is not only a profoundly moral painting, which it may be, but that it typifies the fall of the Roman Empire or the advent of Christian Science. It is indeed almost pathetic to think that Carpaccio, the most thoughtless, gay, irresponsible painter of the Renaissance, should have been made to bear such a heavy burden of spiritual truth as Ruskin and his collaborator pile on his unconscious shoulders.

Such was Ruskin's Carpaccio—a medium for self-revelation on Ruskin's part. What, then, do our more scientific, more objectively-minded art historians, German and Italian, make of him? Have we from them, at last, the real Carpaccio? In a sense, yes. Carpaccio's activity, his *milieu*, the kind and quality of his patrons, the measure of his contemporary fame, the material he handled in his art—all these are clearly made out for us and are illustrated by a wealth of details of fifteenth

century Venetian life such as only a patient and enthusiastic researcher like Dr Ludwig could accumulate in the course of many years. But of Carpaccio as an artist neither Dr Ludwig nor Signor Molmenti have anything authoritative to tell us; they echo in a perfunctory way a number of fine sounding but really meaningless phrases about truth, sincerity, directness. They allude constantly to his genius, his power of observation, and his decorative sense, but there is nowhere in this book a serious attempt made to appreciate Carpaccio's exact position, to say what, as an artist pure and simple, he is worth, what he would be worth to us if, for instance, he were painting the Regent Circus of to-day, if his companions of the Calza were the *habitués* of Ritz's. If his Doge were the Prime Minister and his gondolas taxicabs, what then would be his value for us as pure art? It is really only by some such imagined transposition of the material of his art that we can estimate its æsthetic as opposed to its antiquarian value. For Carpaccio satisfies as scarcely any other artist, certainly as no other Italian artist, does, a certain intellectual craving—the desire to know, in such a detailed way that we can picture it clearly to ourselves, how people lived four hundred years ago. The past is always sanctified by time; and those of us who would be ashamed to be found reading backstairs information about smart people in a modern society journal feel that we are fulfilling part of our intellectual purpose in life if we are puzzling out a *chronique scandaleuse* of the seventeenth century or piecing together the day's doings of a very ordinary man of business in the fifteenth century. Our difference of feeling in the two supposed cases has no doubt some justification. It requires a more deliberate effort of imagination to vivify the bare facts of the daily life of a long past century than to give a vital impulse to similar facts of to-day. Then, again, Time has destroyed so ruthlessly that all that he has left becomes precious as helping to make part of a picture which we feel of infinite importance. After all, the past is part of us; we absorb it all into us, identify ourselves with all its efforts however contradictory; whereas the present belongs mostly to other people, rivals, enemies, or what not, certainly no part of ourselves.

Then, again, we may stop in our realisation of a past

age wherever we wish. We may think how pleasant to see a *festa* on the Grand Canal; we need not dread the plague or the Turks as those who were present did. We may imagine as long as it gives us pleasure; we can stop our imaginings whenever pain begins. The present is more relentless, and spoils our nicely planned work of art by obtruding hateful and incongruous facts.

Now Carpaccio, by a kind of miracle, that is, by a number of fortunate chances of environment and character, Carpaccio does just what we want. He gives the antiquarian imagination all that it asks and no more. He can be detailed and precise as an auctioneer's inventory, minute as an insect, circumstantial as a false witness; he is never real enough to hurt. He, standing there in fifteenth century Venice at the time, will swear to us that all our illusions about the past are justified; that life was just that mixture of what was picturesquely insignificant and naïvely piquant which we like our retrospective imaginations to distil for us from the records of the past. And this was in part because he had just our less responsible interest in things, our love, in idler moments, of the details of remote life, remote either in time or space, our love, in short, of local colour. His eastern scenes prove this beyond doubt; and our authors show how much ingenious learning, of a kind that we are familiar with among our own historical and religious painters, Carpaccio could display on occasion. Then, again, when he has to do scenes with vague and indeterminate settings, like the St George, his fancy is always pleasurable. What horror that battle-ground between St George and the dragon, in the Albergo of the Slavonians, might have aroused under, for instance, Mantegna's hand; and yet here how pleasant are these pieces of half-devoured human limbs, what a delightful thrill of quaintness they give to the setting. Even in this great battle, the supreme conflict, according to Ruskin, between purity and man's bestial nature, even here all is gay and attractive. There is no dramatic suspense, no real issue at stake. St George is our old friend Prince Charming of the fairy stories, and it is bound to be all right.

But before going further with our enquiries into Carpaccio's genius, let us consider, in brief summary, what it is that Dr Ludwig and Signor Molmenti have really

brought to light for us in the history of Carpaccio's life and work. We are still strangely ignorant about him; he eludes the archivist as scarcely one other of the major figures of Venetian art does, dodging behind the bigger men, living perhaps in a somewhat lower social stratum nearer to the haunts of his fisher kinsmen, and, one may guess, feeling a little 'out of it' in the cultured atmosphere of the Bellini studios, glad to get back to a cruder, more jovial society. Even the indefatigable researches of our two authors have failed to reveal the date of Carpaccio's birth—a matter generally of great importance in any attempt to estimate an artist's exact position in relation to his contemporaries, since upon this depends much of our estimate of his originality. In Carpaccio's case this is particularly disappointing, since the archives have yielded considerable information about his relatives. We know something about Frà Ilario, his uncle, a turbulent priest; we know at least the names and a few dates about a whole row of uncles and cousins, including one Gasparo, who was condemned to death for larceny at the Mint; and we know of a large family of more distant cousins among whom smuggling seems to have been a favourite profession. Altogether the genealogical table gives one the idea of a vigorous stock of fishermen and small tradesmen, with at least a fair share of criminals. There would be little in such surroundings to bring a young man into touch with distinguished and cultivated society, and we ought rather to be surprised that Carpaccio shows so keen an intelligence, such an aptitude for learning, as he does, than that he belongs to an altogether different class of artists to the Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian.

But to return to the question of Vittore Carpaccio's birth. One thing is at least satisfactorily determined; he was born in Venice, of an old Venetian family, and not at Capodistria, as was at one time held. The first notice of him that has been traced so far is his mention in the will of his uncle, Frate Ilario, in 1472, where he is named as an heir. This implies, according to Dr Ludwig, that he was born about 1455-6, since no one could enter into an inheritance under fifteen years of age. But surely a boy could be named for an inheritance before he was of an age to inherit, since the will might not take effect for some time. One can hardly doubt that Dr Ludwig thought

of this point, and yet it would be surprising if Vittore was really born so early as 1455, for of the earliest dated pictures we have by him, the *St Ursula* series, the first is dated 1490. It represents the landing at Cologne, and is so childish in composition, so feeble in drawing, and is followed at such short intervals of time by pictures, each one of which shows such striking and rapid improvement, that one finds it hard to doubt that that picture of 1490 is indeed an almost youthful work, done, say, when the artist was about twenty-three or twenty-four years old and coming rapidly to his full artistic growth. On the other hand, with Dr Ludwig's date, he must have been thirty-five years old, an age which precludes, for an artist of the Italian Renaissance, any idea of immaturity, and leaves this curious inequality unexplained.

As to his artistic training, no documentary help is at hand; but if Dr Ludwig had done nothing else students of Venetian art would have owed him a great debt for settling this point decisively. Dr Ludwig has reconstituted a whole lost atelier of Venice, and one of considerable importance. To the older critics Venetian painting in the fifteenth century consisted of the Bellini and their helpers. Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Morelli began to differentiate the group of Muranese artists, and subsequently Alvise Vivarini, the leader of the group, was brought into full prominence by Mr Berenson. Meanwhile, Lazzaro Bastiani was regarded as an imitator of Carpaccio, to whom no one paid much attention. Dr Ludwig has at last done him justice; has shown that he was the master and not the pupil of Carpaccio; that he had a great position in his day, and that from his atelier came, not only Carpaccio himself, but Benedetto Diana, Mansueti, Vincenzo Bastiani, and probably a large number of nameless artificers. In fact the Bellini, the Vivarini, and Lazzaro Bastiani all held similar positions in Venice as the heads of large ateliers. Nor was the superiority of the Bellini so evident then as it is to-day, for we find one Antonio Corradi writing from Constantinople so late as 1473 to order a panel with a figure of Christ to be done by Lazzaro, 'but, if the painter be dead, Master Gian Bellini must do it'!

Such a judgment must surprise even us who are accustomed to grotesque inversions of the order of merit in

art; for it is not as though Lazzaro were an Edwin Long and Bellini a Rossetti; as though one were grossly 'popular,' and the other seriously imaginative; both were trying to do essentially the same thing—appealing to the same taste and the same religious instincts—only one was doing it with high genius and the other with praiseworthy industry; and yet one could have either the one or the other for the same price!

But Dr Ludwig's claim for Lazzaro Bastiani is, we think, fully made out. Lazzaro fills a most important position in Venetian art. It is indeed surprising that his position should have remained so long unsuspected, and it is one of Dr Ludwig's many services to the history of Venetian art thus to have cleared up the whole situation. And if Lazzaro was unequal in his inventions and frequently feeble in his execution, he, too, had his happy moments. The 'S. Veneranda,' of Vienna, shows quite as distinct a discovery in composition as Alvise Vivarini's great altar-pieces at Berlin, and the whole Carpaccian formula of narrative design is already present in the little pieces representing the story of St Jerome in the Brera and at Vienna, so much so indeed that when Carpaccio came to treat the same subject he had only to modify and, let us add, improve his master's conception. To have discovered, or rather to have quarried from Jacopo Bellini, that loose formula of composition so admirably adapted to pictorial narration is surely a noteworthy claim to remembrance. About one of the works, here attributed to Bastiani, there has already been some controversy. The great picture in the National Gallery of the 'Doge Mocenigo Kneeling before the Virgin' has always borne the name of Carpaccio. That it is strikingly Carpaccian in colour and technique is true, but none of the forms are characteristic of him, and there is every reason to think that it was painted at a time when Carpaccio had scarcely finished his training. Dr Ludwig is therefore, it appears, quite right in restoring to Carpaccio's master this dignified and serious work, which forms, indeed, his chief claim to recognition.*

Coming now to Carpaccio's early works, our authors

* In the list of works by Lazzaro Bastiani our authors omit to mention the 'Madonna and Child' which Mr Claude Phillips discovered a few years ago in a private collection, and which now hangs in the National Gallery.

dispose of Ruskin's idea that the eight curious panels in St Alvis are juvenile works by Vittore himself. They, however, give them very decisively to Bastiani's atelier, and suppose for them an early date. If they grant so much, it is a little difficult to see on what grounds they decisively reject that one of Bastiani's pupils of whose wayward and irresponsible genius they seem so delightful a foretaste. Frankly, unless we are to suppose with Mary Logan that they are quite late Carpacciesque pastiches, we know of no Venetian artist other than Carpaccio who had quite the humorous spontaneity, quite the reckless directness of narration that these panels evince. Moreover, the horse in the 'Fall of Jericho' is so absolutely Carpaccio's horse (compare, for instance, the horse in St Vitalis) that it must be either by him or after him. To us, at all events, these panels appear to possess the quintessence of Carpaccio's peculiar temperamental genius as yet unaffected by reverence for any conventions of style, of perspective, of drawing, or composition.

Carpaccio was occupied during the greater part of his life in carrying out extensive schemes of decorations for the 'common-rooms' of the minor *scuole*. These minor *scuole* were really very humble institutions, maintained by small tradespeople partly for charity, partly for that mutual support of their self-esteem which forms so strong a tie even to-day among the less cultivated circles of the middle classes. One could probably get a pretty clear idea of the tone of a meeting of these brethren of the minor guilds by attending at a Masonic lodge in one of the genteel outer suburbs of London. These good people probably 'knew nothing about art, but knew what they liked'; and they liked Carpaccio, which showed their honest good sense and freedom from snobbism. They did not want Gentile Bellini, with his high and academic design, and they felt no compulsion, like the major guilds, to employ him because of his reputation with *cognoscenti*. But if their predilections are intelligible enough, it is hard to understand how our learned authors can have placed Gentile side by side with Carpaccio, as they have done, and then lectured Gentile for being an inferior artist, and critics for repeating, parrot-like, his praises. It is difficult to understand how, even accepting the examples they have chosen for comparison, they were not instantly struck by

the fact that Gentile, whatever his peculiarities, drew with a great sense of style, a feeling for the harmonious relations of lines (indeed he is singular among Venetians for his linear design), a rare, almost Whistlerian sense of tone relations and atmospheric quality, and a knowledge of composition, all of which things Carpaccio would never even have understood, much less have practised. It is not, as they seem to think, a question of priority—it may well be that Carpaccio did *genre* scenes before Gentile ever attempted them—but a question of artistic quality, and in this Bellini's superiority appears to me immeasurable.

But let us return from this æsthetic digression to Carpaccio's work at the *scuole*. Nothing could be more admirable than the patience and method with which Dr Ludwig has succeeded in reconstructing nearly the whole of these sumptuous decorations—finding out the exact measurements of the walls, now in many cases destroyed, the position of the windows, the incidence of light, and, in consequence, the sequence of the paintings in their original setting. It is really a delightful example of the best antiquarian research, and as a result we can now picture to ourselves the interiors of these various *scuole* as they were when Carpaccio first let in the impatient brethren of the guild to the 'private view.' One cannot doubt that a series like the St Ursula would gain immensely by being restored to a building of the old dimensions and lighting; even the 'Apotheosis of the Saint,' a horror in its present position and lighting, might become at least satisfactory in the dimness of the unlighted altar wall of such a small chapel as that which originally held it. Already a movement is arising for decentralising works of art; for replacing in their original surroundings those works of secondary and mainly decorative import which have lost almost all their charm by being huddled together in the vast cemeteries of State museums. We hope that the day may come when the chapel of St Ursula's school will be re-erected according to Dr Ludwig's plans under the shelter of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, and when Carpaccio's series of charming and care-free decorations may find once more its real *raison d'être*. The whole history of the school of St Ursula is traced by our authors with exemplary care, and good reasons are given for recognising in Carpaccio's paintings the portraits of prominent patrons of the guild

and of their relatives. For the most part, however, these people were much more interesting to the other members of the guild than they can possibly be to us, and the recognition of their portraits becomes almost an archæological spot-stroke.

The decorations carried out for the other guilds were none of them so complete and extensive as the St Ursula, but the story of each of these small guilds, as told by our authors, has its special interest, such, for instance, as the guild of the exiled Albanians who decorated the front of their Albergo with a relief of the siege of Scutari. The whole façade remains to this day a delightful surprise to the pedestrian who threads his way through the narrow Calle towards St Vitale and the Accademia. For these Albanians, too, Carpaccio did his series of the 'Life of the Virgin,' now scattered throughout various galleries, and here brought together completely for the first time. In these there is already a marked change in his manner, the beginnings of a sense of style in composition of which hitherto he had been innocent. The birth of the Virgin at Bergamo is, indeed, a well-balanced and harmonious composition. It would seem as though about this period Carpaccio became aware of the existence of a whole body of principles in the art of design of which he had known nothing heretofore. This change is emphasised yet more strongly in the next series, that of the 'Life of St Stephen,' for the Scuola di Santo Stefano. Dr Ludwig and Signor Molmenti, occupied as they are primarily with antiquarian and historical interests, do not call attention to this remarkable change, which yet is full of interest for the student of Carpaccio's art. It shows him to have been able, when quite a middle-aged man, to learn from his contemporaries a new view of composition and a more strenuous standard of execution. This point will be evident if we compare any of the St Stephen pictures with any of the St George and St Tryphonius series. In the St George pictures there is, properly speaking, no composition, but instead a mere addition of one item after another as the fancy struck the artist. The narrative is told, it is true, and well told, because Carpaccio had a native gift of rendering the more obviously expressive gestures, but it is not told with any art, with any idea of emphasis or eloquence, nor is there

sufficient harmony between the parts to bring about even a satisfactory decorative unity. But if we turn to the 'Ordination of the Seven Deacons' at Berlin we find the story told with a certain dignity and persuasiveness; the figure of Peter is finely isolated and more nobly posed than any figure of the earlier series, and the figures surrounding him are related in groups with a certain rhythmical flow of line. In the background depth is obtained by a happier use of perspective than heretofore, and the various divisions of the landscape have less the air of being successive side scenes pushed into the composition from either wing. This is in fact a curiously orthodox, almost academic, composition for Carpaccio. The 'St Stephen Disputing,' of the Brera, has much of his native quaintness and odd charm, but it, too, is more held together, as well as more noble in its interpretation of character, more seriously imagined, than any of the earlier works. The 'Stephen Preaching' is again a finely thought-out composition, with a clear purpose shown in the massing and piling up of the buildings in the background; altogether a design such as one could not have augured from the helpless ignorance of such problems shown in the 'Triumph of St George.' Finally, in the 'Stoning of Stephen,' at Stuttgart, Carpaccio, so long the merely entertaining narrator, becomes for once seriously dramatic, and his native ingenuity and spontaneity help him to create a really moving design. So far from declining at the end of his life, as our authors suggest, it would seem that he was only just at the end learning to use his great native gifts, no longer in a haphazard and extempore fashion, but with deliberate purpose and newly enlightened mind. Even the very latest painting, the St Paul, brought to light by our authors for the first time, has a dignity and grandeur in the silhouette of which one could find no trace in his earlier work.*

What, one wonders, was the cause of this great change? We may perhaps guess that it came from contact with a new group of artists with bigger ideas and more scrupulous execution than had obtained in the Bastiani

* The very late painting of the 'Lion of St Mark' is also one of Carpaccio's most perfect works. For the reasons given above, the 'Dead Christ,' at Berlin, would seem rather to belong to the early or middle period of his career.

workshop. And there is this to support such a view, that there are traces of a familiarity with Cima da Conegliano's works. Without going into details of formal resemblances one may cite Carpaccio's 'Death of the Virgin,' at Ferrara, dated 1508 (i.e. shortly before the Stephen series), in which not only the main idea but individual heads are taken direct from Cima's version of the theme. Again, in the 'Presentation of the Virgin,' in the same series, there is considerable likeness with Cima's painting of that subject. Finally, in the 'Ordination of the Deacons,' the landscape is no longer of Bastiani's type, as heretofore, but definitely Cimesque, while the St Peter is also Cimesque in pose and drapery.

To some it may seem improbable that so strong an individuality as Carpaccio's would come under the influence of a more derivative artist like Cima, but if Cima lacked Carpaccio's ruder and more instinctive talents he was a far more scholarly designer and a more accomplished painter, and he possessed, moreover, a much more delicate and scrupulous taste, all of which qualities one may suppose Carpaccio to have been quick enough to perceive and wise enough to emulate.

To Dr Ludwig and Signor Molmenti, then, Carpaccio is merely a great artist. They scarcely endeavour to define the kind of greatness he exemplified. Mistaking the actual for the real, they speak much of the truth of his art, contrasting it with the supposedly false idealism of others. Now in all the greater truths of art, truths of construction, truths of dramatic feeling and expression, Carpaccio was singularly lacking. He had, on the other hand, an extraordinary native gift for mimicry, a quickness in observing, and a childlike directness in recording the more obvious aspects of pose and gesture. One feels him to have been simple, unreflecting, genial, and humorous. He reflects admirably the materialism of the Venetian temperament, but he colours it with a playful fancy which redeems it altogether from Philistine grossness. To him, however, it never becomes transfigured, as in Gianbellini, with deep imaginative sympathy or religious *rêverie*. His taste, in the matter of form, is constantly at fault; he inclines in all his accessories to a futile repetition of meagre units. As an extreme instance of this one may take the architectural background in his drawing

for the 'Presentation in the Temple,' in the Uffizi. But the same will apply to his treatment of all architectural accessories and furniture. On the other hand, in the matter of colour, he had both fine taste and rich invention. His colour, it is true, never becomes an organ for the expression of rare and exalted moods, as it does with Bellini and Giorgione, but it has extreme decorative beauty, and it has the common qualities of Venetian colour, its geniality, its glow and generosity, in rare perfection.

Such an artist as Carpaccio must always, one would think, appear delightful and lovable, like the fairy stories of our childhood, since, like them, he demands no intellectual effort on the part of the spectator, but only a kindly interest and curiosity in the thread of his story. Burne-Jones, in a letter quoted by our authors, summed up the situation admirably when he said that Gentile Bellini won his respect, but Carpaccio his love. We love him for the frankness of his failings as well as for the untouched spontaneity of his talent; but while we do well to love him, we should never confuse our sense of values so far as to offer him our respect.

If Dr Ludwig's work on Carpaccio stood alone it would still be a remarkable monument to his memory. But it does not. On almost every period and every branch of Venetian art he has thrown a flood of much-needed daylight; and when one reads in Signor Molmenti's pathetic preface of the terrible conditions of illness and suffering under which he accomplished this work, one cannot but join in his deep admiration of the man's character and in envy of the enthusiasm which carried him on till the very last, hopeful, eager, and disinterested; for his devotion to truth was absolute and entirely untinged by personal ambitions. He wanted to find out the truth, and he cared very little who got the glory of the discovery so long as the truth was made known. To myself it is a real pleasure to bear witness to his kindly helpfulness, his chivalrous generosity in communicating to a much younger and scarcely known writer the advantage of all the information which he had patiently excavated from archives or acquired in his frequent journeys to remote country places.

ROGER FRY.

Art. XI.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, Commonwealth, and Restoration. Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661. Two vols. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1908.

IN February 1849 Thomas Carlyle was called upon to give evidence before the Royal Commission then sitting to enquire into the management of the British Museum. His own experience had lain chiefly among the two great collections relating to the English Civil War and to the French Revolution, and of these two collections he speaks with characteristic picturesqueness and energy. He says of the Thomason Tracts, 'In value, I believe the whole world could not parallel them. I consider them to be the most valuable set of documents connected with English history; greatly preferable to all the sheep-skins in the Tower for informing the English what the English were in former times.' Alluding to Thomason's own catalogue in twelve folio volumes, he says, 'If a man wanted to do a beneficent act to England he ought to print the catalogue of these Civil War pamphlets; he might begin that to-morrow and send it away to all parts as soon as it could be printed.' Finally, he expresses his emphatic opinion that without a catalogue these collections 'might as well have been locked up in water-tight chests and sunk on the Dogger Bank as put into the British Museum.'

That Carlyle was right in his main contention is self-evident. An uncatalogued library is as exasperating as an unindexed book; but it is perhaps fortunate that his scheme of printing Thomason's catalogue as it stands fell through. Excellent as this catalogue is in many respects it has no sort of index, and the fact that the chronological sequence of the titles is continually broken by arbitrary divisions into folios, quartos, octavos, and so forth, would, in any case, have been a serious drawback to its practical use. At the time when Carlyle spoke, the General Catalogue of Printed Books was just beginning to take form and substance. The task of compiling and printing a

catalogue containing some four millions of entries has been no brief or simple task. Its completion at the beginning of the present century has at last rendered it possible for the staff of the Museum Library to turn their attention to more specialised forms of work, and to produce a catalogue which tardily but thoroughly justifies Carlyle's counsel.

We hope that the present monograph on the Thomason collection may be the first of a series of catalogues devoted to the many collections, historical, scientific, and literary, contained in the Library of the British Museum.

This catalogue consists of a list of all the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and newspapers, arranged as strictly as possible in chronological order, a plan which has been rendered possible by the fact that Thomason himself dated each book as it came into his hands, followed by an elaborate index of the names of persons, places, political parties, portraits, and in fact any matter which its compilers considered useful. The preface gives all the information obtainable on the biography of George Thomason and the history of his collection.

Thomason had been settled as a bookseller in St Paul's Churchyard for fourteen years when, on the day of the meeting of the Long Parliament, November 3, 1640, he determined to collect the books, pamphlets, and newspapers which at that date began to pour from the press. Such a resolve could only have been formed by a man gifted in a remarkable degree with historical foresight and imagination; nor could anything short of heroic resolution have enabled him to continue the task without a single break through more than twenty years of constant strain and stress until he finally completed his collection with the record of the coronation of Charles II, April 23, 1661. In the year 1651 Thomason was seriously involved in the Presbyterian conspiracy known as Love's Plot, and was 'closely clapt up at Whitehall' during the months of April and May. Yet even imprisonment gave no check to his collection; the pamphlets and newspapers issued during these weeks were as regularly received and dated as at any other period. It was probably about this time, or perhaps a month or two earlier, when the discovery of the plot was imminent, and he had good reason to fear the confiscation of his property, that he sent his entire

collection up to that date to the Bodleian, where it was placed under the care of Thomas Barlow. The remainder was remitted to Barlow's charge from time to time. By this fortunate accident the books escaped the great fire of 1666, which destroyed Thomason's shop, the 'Rose and Crown,' and in fact the whole of St Paul's Churchyard as it then stood. In 1664 Thomason made his will, containing a clause in which he bequeaths his collection on trust for the benefit of his children, to his 'honoured friends' Thomas Barlow, Thomas Lockey, Barlow's successor as Bodley's librarian, and John Rushworth, the famous Secretary of the Army. Thomason was under the impression that Barlow was about to effect the purchase of the books by the Bodleian.

Unhappily for him, since his fortune seems to have depended entirely upon this sale, Barlow was unsuccessful, and the collection remained in his care for ten years after Thomason's death in 1666. In April 1676, when Barlow took possession of his see of Lincoln, he returned it to Thomason's sons, who disposed of it to Samuel Mearne, the famous bookbinder then holding the office of Stationer to the King. Mearne, with the assistance of the Thomason family, drew up an interesting advertisement which is printed in full in the preface to the new catalogue. The advertisement is just such a curious mixture of truth and romance as might be expected to attract a wealthy purchaser under the restored monarchy.

Negotiations for the sale of the collection seem to have been entered into between Mearne and Sir Joseph Williamson, Keeper of the Royal Library at Whitehall, but they came to nothing, and on Mearne's death the collection passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Henry Sisson, and ultimately to his granddaughter, from whom, in July 1762, it was purchased for 300*l.* by George III and presented to the newly-founded Library of the British Museum.

The collection consists of 22,255 pieces, bound in 2008 volumes. Of these 14,942 are books, pamphlets, or broadsides, 7216 are separate numbers of newspapers, and 97 are manuscripts, for the most part in Thomason's handwriting. The number of publications in each year differs considerably. The highest figures occur in 1642, when the total reaches 2134 separate publications, and in

1648 with a total of 2036. In each of these years the average output exceeds six publications for every week-day. The lowest figures will be found between 1655 and 1658 when the efficient government of the Lord Protector made the censorship something like a reality. After Cromwell's death the figures again mount rapidly from 332 in 1657 to 1144 in 1660.

Under these circumstances the enormous number of printers and booksellers who carried on business in London becomes intelligible. Taking the year 1648 as an example, the names of 168 printers and publishers, 157 of whom were citizens of London, will be found in this catalogue. But even these figures do not include the names of the unlicensed printers who are responsible for a large proportion of the literary product of the period, such as Nicholas Tew, of Coleman Street, or the wandering presses of William Larner, printer in ordinary to John Lilburne and his disciples.

Such, in the briefest outline, is the bibliographical history of this wonderful collection. Let us turn now to a much more interesting subject, the contents of its two thousand volumes. A certain proportion of these consist of single books, usually treatises on Calvinistic theology or Biblical commentaries. Such volumes form the negligible quantity of the collection. Fortunately they are comparatively few in number. In the large majority of volumes from twenty to forty pamphlets and numbers of newspapers, bound together in strictly chronological order, will be found. Each of these volumes will contain three or four sermons; half a dozen controversial tracts; five or six Ordinances of Parliament; accounts of sieges or battles in the earlier volumes, in the later, letters from the army; reports of the Council of Officers or of the Agitators; John Lilburne's latest appeal against the tyranny of whatever Government happens to be in power at the moment; reports of trials; tales of apparitions or supernatural marvels; a tract or two on the unemployed or on vagabondage; finally, one or more poems or satires.

It will be seen at a glance what a mine of historical treasure is to be found in such volumes, which are numbered by the thousand. Most of the subjects contained in them explain themselves, but there are a few which deserve a word or two of comment.

Take, for instance, the large number of pamphlets on the treatment of beggars, vagabonds, and paupers. From these we can gather a vivid impression of the acute condition of the question of the unemployed, more especially in the years immediately following the first Civil War, when thousands of disbanded soldiers and discharged workmen wandered through the country vainly seeking employment, and finally begged or stole their way to London, to become a danger to peaceable citizens and an insoluble problem to overtasked aldermen and justices. One of these tracts furnishes an excellent example of Thomason's manuscript notes, which add so greatly to the value of the collection. On the title-page of a pamphlet entitled 'A way to make the poor happy,' by Peter Cornelius van Zarick-Zee, Thomason writes, 'I believe this pamphlet was made by Mr Hugh Peeters, who hath a man named Cornelius Glover'—a very ingenious deduction.

Another question which is very fully represented is the position of women and the marriage tie. The claims of women to preach, to petition, or to address Parliament and the Common Council will be found here in abundance. The other side, the subjection of the female sex, is represented by Milton's 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' by many satires on the Parliament of Women, and so forth, and, to reach the lowest depth, by a solemn treatise of one hundred pages entitled 'The Husband's Authority unveiled; wherein it is moderately discussed whether it be fit or lawful for a Good Man to beat his bad wife.'

Poems and satires, printed or in manuscript, occur in nearly every volume. One example of a satirical poem, chosen rather for its brevity than for its merit, will suffice to illustrate the witticism of the period. It is entitled 'A Distik made upon the ffour Lords yt usually sate and made a howse in the yeare 1648,' and reads thus :

'Salisbury the valiant, a coward;
Pembroke the wittie, a floole;
Derby the chaste, a whoremonger;
Mongrave the prittie, a dwarfe.'

With the possible exception of Cromwell himself, no soldier or politician was so frequently satirised as Philip,

fourth Earl of Pembroke, the second son of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.' In 1630 Philip succeeded his elder brother, the famous Pembroke of Jonson's epitaph. The fourth earl was one of the richest men in England, which, with his professed Calvinism and his high birth, made him a personage of the first importance. Among his other honours he succeeded Archbishop Laud as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Yet he was notoriously immoral, foul-mouthed, and boorish. Clarendon speaks of the 'extreme weakness of his understanding,' and Anthony Wood describes him as 'fitter, by his eloquence in swearing, to preside over Bedlam than over a learned Academy.' There are no less than thirteen prose satires upon this curious 'grandee,' most of which are in the form of mock speeches 'taken down word for word and oath for oath.' Whether or no all these were the work of one writer it is impossible to say. They bear a strong family resemblance, and are perhaps the only samples of real humour to be found throughout the entire collection.

But after all, these are but by-paths, and we must confine ourselves to pointing out one or two of the main points of interest which the collection as a whole offers to students of seventeenth century history.

The first of these is the evidence afforded of the practical freedom of the Press during the whole, or the greater part, of the period. The British Museum contains a vast collection of pamphlets and newspapers published during the French Revolution, formed by John Wilson Croker, much larger in extent than the Thomason Tracts, and hardly inferior to them in interest. In comparing these two great collections there is no contrast so striking as the evidence which they furnish of the liberty of thought and utterance during the Civil War, and the total absence of such liberty during the French Revolution. The whole tendency of the French writers seems to be to sail with, or in advance of, the flowing tide; that of the English to stem it. There are, of course, occasional exceptions; but, taking the French collection as a whole, we may fairly say that the one consistent motto of writers, speakers, and journalists is, 'De mortuis nil nisi malum.' Running through all is a wearisome flood of fulsome adulation of those in power

at the moment, and of overstrained, hysterical abuse of the fallen man or the lost cause. This is true of every party and of every notable personality. Before the ink which lauded to the stars the hero, the saviour, the sage, the virtuous citizen, has had time to dry, the subject of yesterday's eulogy has developed into the tyrant, the slave of Pitt and Coburg, the corrupt traitor, and so forth through all the gamut of vituperation. In a word, he has fallen; the rest is common form.

The Thomason pamphlets exhibit the exact contrary of all this. They illustrate in an extraordinary degree the frankness and freedom with which each individual expresses his own personal likes and dislikes, his criticism upon his rulers, his justification of a fallen cause. And this in the face of the fact that legally the Press was as far as possible from being unfettered. Twelve Acts, Ordinances, and Orders in Council are to be found in the Thomason collection, each confirming and strengthening the laws against irregular or unlicensed printing. There were laws enough and to spare to suppress every newspaper and pamphlet in the kingdom; but, as Edwards truly asserts in his Address to Parliament in 1646, 'Never were more dangerous unlicensed books printed than since your Ordinance against unlicensed printing.' A few notable writers—Judge Jenkins, William Prynne, and John Lilburne—were prosecuted or arbitrarily imprisoned, but they were never silenced.

Later on, from 1653 to 1658, under Cromwell's rule, which, if harsh, was at least efficient, the number of pamphlets, as we have already mentioned, fell from month to month, while the newspapers were reduced to a weekly issue of the same paper, which appeared alternately as 'Mercurius Politicus' and the 'Publick Intelligencer,' with occasional spasmodic efforts to establish rival journals. But from 1640 to 1652 there seem to have been no bounds to what could be printed and sold. The unlicensed printers had a changeful and exciting career, but they printed, and their work, in one way or another, found a market. There are in the Thomason collection few unique tracts; the great majority of them appear from time to time in booksellers' catalogues. If they are purchasable after the lapse of more than two centuries, we may be sure that they passed freely from hand to

hand when they were first issued. Examples of this practical freedom of the Press may be found in every volume of the collection, but perhaps the most striking illustrations are supplied by the publications which followed the death of Charles I.

No one can deny that those who turned the Presbyterian majority of Parliament out of doors, put the King on his trial and ordered his execution, were grim, determined men. They held, for the moment, a power both despotic and unlimited. Both in London and throughout the country they were numerically in a small minority. One would have supposed that as they had the power, they certainly had also the will to impose silence on the small group of writers and journalists who might turn the sombre acquiescence of the nation into active hostility. Yet they imposed no such silence. There are in the British Museum no less than twenty-three editions of *Εἰκὼν βασιλική*, published before the close of the year 1649. Some of these were printed abroad, but all were circulated in England. In addition to this famous book are a host of pamphlets, printed during the same year, 1649, bearing such titles as, 'A Panegyrick of King Charles,' by Sir A. Wotton; 'A Hand-kerchief for Loyall Mourners, or a Cordiall for drooping spirits groaning for the bloody murder of our Glorious King'; 'A Crown, a crime, or the Monarch Martyr'; 'King Charles no man of blood, but a Martyr for his People'; 'A Tribute of Tears paid after the sacred Hearse of Charles I, murdered at Westminster by his own subjects'; 'The Life and death of King Charles the Martyr parallel'd with Our Saviour.' One newspaper appears under the title 'Mercurius Pragmaticus, for King Charles II.' Another bears on its front page medallions of Charles I and Charles II. There must have been many in France who held much the same view of the execution of Louis XVI as these writers held of that of Charles I. But no such pamphlets were printed or circulated in France in 1793 or the succeeding years. In point of fact, to print, sell or possess one such pamphlet would have meant death to every person concerned and, probably enough, to his wife and family also.

In strange and significant contrast to the wealth of eulogistic literature which appeared after the execution

of Charles I, is the paucity of anything of the kind after the death of the Lord Protector. If we read through the titles in this catalogue following September 3, 1658 (vol. ii, pp. 214 *et seq.*), we cannot fail to be struck by the marked absence of comment on the death of Oliver Cromwell. The event occupies less space than the death of the Earl of Essex in September 1646, or the execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle in August 1648. There are among the Thomason Tracts, and in other portions of the Museum Library, fifty-one pamphlets, published before 1660, openly celebrating, in prose or in verse, the virtues of King Charles. There are eleven only in memory of Cromwell. In quality one of these, the 'Three Poems on the death of Oliver, late Lord Protector,' by Waller, Dryden, and Sprat, outweighs all the prose and verse dedicated to King Charles; but this does not make the disparity in quantity the less remarkable.

A second point of great importance is the light which this collection throws on the long and embittered struggle between the Presbyterians and the Independents. Here we have the whole contemporary literature of the eventful years 1646 to 1649, and we are able to see the gradual evolution of the Presbyterian system and to trace the causes which led to its rejection by the great majority of Englishmen; to note how the triumphant Parliament waned from day to day before the irresistible force of the Independent army, and to follow the course of that army along the devious road which led to the turning-point of the history of the period, Pride's Purge.

During the earlier years of the war the Presbyterians appeared to be masters of the situation. The forces of Parliament were commanded by Presbyterian generals, officered by Presbyterian gentlemen, and manned by Presbyterian soldiers. In Parliament, in the Corporation, among the higher class of the City of London, and in the Assembly of Divines, the Presbyterians were in an overwhelming majority. Presbyterianism had replaced Episcopacy as the established church of England. Its ministers had succeeded to a goodly heritage. They were in possession of the churches and parsonages, and had the full support of Parliament in substituting the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer,

and in enforcing the cast-iron discipline of the Sabbath and the monthly fast-days, two institutions which occupy a large place in the Thomason Tracts.

There are fifteen distinct Ordinances of Parliament and Proclamations of the Lord Mayor on the observance of the 'Lord's Day,' and twelve on the monthly fast. These laws forbid travelling by land or sea; the performance of any form of work, including domestic service; also games, sports, bell-ringing, profane music, walking in the churchyard or elsewhere. They order the destruction of Maypoles as a 'heathenish vanity generally abused by superstition and wickedness,' and they direct that every copy of the 'King's Book, and all other books that have been written against the sanctity of the Lord's Day, shall be publicly burnt.

In order to enforce these regulations, justices of the peace are empowered to issue warrants authorising churchwardens and constables to search taverns and, in certain cases, private houses. Parents and guardians, masters and mistresses, are subjected to a substantial fine for every child or servant convicted of profaning the Lord's Day by working, playing, or singing, unless they can prove before a justice of the peace that the 'child or servant so offending hath received due correction,' a clause which must have struck terror into many a nursery, and, had it been fully carried out (which it never was), should have materially raised the value of birch-trees.

So much for the negative portion of the Sabbatarian statutes. The positive clauses enact that every person shall, upon the Lord's Day and on every fast-day, diligently resort to some church where the 'true worship of God is exercised.' The only legal escape for man, woman or child is to obtain an exemption from a justice of the peace. Without such exemption, the minimum penalty for absence from the morning or afternoon exercise, is half a crown for each offence. Perhaps the strangest clause in these ordinances is that which enacts that:

'Whereas there is great breaking of the Lord's Day by rogues, vagabonds, and beggars, it is ordained that the Lord Mayor and all Justices throughout the country shall take order that all rogues, vagabonds, and beggars do, on every

Lord's Day and Fast Day, repair to some Church and remain there soberly and orderly during the time of Divine Worship.'

There is certainly room for conjecture as to the thoughts and feelings of these impressed worshippers as the third hour of the sermon dragged its wearisome course along. In the matter of the Lord's Day there cannot have been much distinction in kind between Presbyterians and 'Sectaries,' but the monthly fast was exclusively a Presbyterian institution. The fast-days were originally founded in January 1641 as special days of prayer on account of the Irish Rebellion, and were shortly afterwards adopted by the Presbyterians as a substitute for Christmas, Easter, and the other public holidays. The fast was appointed to be held on the last Wednesday of each month, and all the laws relating to the Lord's Day were applied to its observance.

There are two Ordinances relating to these fast-days, issued in October and December 1644, which are well worth recording. The title of the first of these reads :

'Two Ordinances of Parliament, one commanding that no Officer or Souldier by Sea or Land shall give any quarter to any Irishman who shall be taken in arms against the Parliament in England. The other for the better observance of the Monethly Fast, together with directions to the Officers within the severall Liberties, diligently to make search for all persons that follow their work or sit in taverns on that day.'

The second Ordinance relates to the December fast-day of the year 1644, which happened to fall on Christmas Day. On this account Parliament enacts that this fast-day shall be kept with more than ordinary severity,

'to call to remembrance our sinnes and the sinnes of our forefathers who have turned the Feast pretending the memory of Christ into an extream forgetfulniss of Him by giving liberty to carnall and sensual delights.'

There were unquestionably other and more worthy facets in the character of Presbyterianism, but we doubt whether a volume of formal history would better illustrate the reason why Presbyterianism failed than the sour compound of cruelty, intolerance, and asceticism of which these two brief ordinances are composed.

The Orders of Parliament as to the Irish papists were fully carried out by the Independent soldiers; indeed, after Naseby, and on other occasions, they went far to better their instructions; but in the matter of the fast-days, Parliament and the ministers met with no such obedience. Then, as in all other periods of history, the great mass of the people were more or less indifferent to exact forms of religious belief. They were neither Presbyterians nor 'Sectaries.' They acquiesced with joy in the abolition of the coercive authority of the Bishops, and with complacency in the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer. But when it came to penalising the old festivals and holidays, they declined all acquiescence. They had not escaped from the whips of episcopal jurisdiction to submit to the scorpions of Presbyterian discipline. Riots, often of a very serious character, took place all over England at Christmas and Easter. Offenders arrested on Sundays and fast-days were rescued by mobs. The most dangerous disturbance which occurred during the occupation of London by the army, began with an attempt to arrest some boys who were playing tip-cat in Moorfields on Sunday April 9, 1648. The London apprentices presented petitions at frequent intervals asking for days of lawful recreation and plaintively pleading that five hours of bepreachment were an insufficient equivalent for the carnal sports of former years. In fact human nature, expelled by the Puritan fork, comes ramping back through every volume of these tracts. Eventually the Monthly Fast was abolished by an Act passed by the Independent House of Commons on April 23, 1649. This Act did not interfere in any way with the days of fasting or thanksgiving decreed on special occasions. Such days were equally cherished by both parties. There are no less than fifty Ordinances or Acts appointing fasts and thanksgivings between the years 1641 and 1661.

Little as the Presbyterian party realised the fact, it failed, even during its years of supremacy, to strike any actual root in the English character. Stronger and more determined men, holding newer forms of religious and political doctrines, were coming to the front to replace the common-place noblemen and gentlemen hitherto in power. They arrived there in the spring of 1645 when

the new model army replaced the Parliamentary forces, substituting for the obedient but not over efficient militia of the associated counties a professional army, composed of Independents and Sectaries, well-drilled and well equipped, equally ready to fight or to preach, willing to obey their own generals, but with no respect whatever for Parliament or Presbyter. Thus, by the autumn of 1645, when the first Civil War had been fought to a finish, England was divided into three hostile camps, the scattered Royalists, the Presbyterian Parliament and City, and the Independent army.

A mere glance through the titles in this catalogue will serve to show how complete a revolution had taken place between the years 1640-1641 and the period we are now considering, 1646-1649. In the earlier years the Press teemed with denunciations of the Bishops and the Prayer-book, of the wickedness of the papists and the cruelty of malignants. Now all is changed; Bishops and malignants are dead Satans. The old grievances of unvoted taxation and Star-Chamber illegalities have faded away before the burning controversy on toleration and the dread of army free-quarters and assessments. Presbyterians and Independents are face to face; and, if words are to be taken as meaning anything, the hatred between the two is as bitter as that between Puritan and Cavalier a few years earlier.

Before entering upon the controversy on toleration it is well to note how widespread was the belief in the supernatural, and how large a part superstition played in the history of the seventeenth century. Among the pamphlets of the years 1644-1647 we find fully set forth the tragic story of the rise, the greatness, and the fall of Matthew Hopkins, 'Witchfinder-general,' who, in the course of three years, caused the torture and slow doing to death of more than one hundred old men and women; and at last, to his own grievous annoyance, but to the infinite relief of the eastern counties, was hoist by his own petard and duly hanged in August 1647.

Witchcraft was a Presbyterian weakness and nearly disappears with the overthrow of the system, but the other superstitions remained in full force up to and after the Restoration. The experiences of John Bunyan are well known; but it would be a mistake to suppose

that his wrestlings with visible demons, and the mental agony through which he passed, were peculiar to himself. In writing his autobiography he expresses, with eloquent simplicity, the experiences of many of his silent contemporaries. Fifty-five pamphlets devoted to apparitions, portents, monsters, diabolical possession, and other tales of the same kind, are to be found here, and similar stories occur in every newspaper. Two examples, taken at random will suffice to show the general character of these narratives. The first is entitled

'A true Relation of a boy who was entertained by the Devill about Crediton, and how the Devill showed him the torments of Hell, and what preparation there was made for Goring and Greenville against they come.'

The second,

'A true Relation of a Whale pursued by divers Mariners of Weymouth, who did shoote the said Whale, which did strike upon the shore, where being opened there was found in the belly of it a Romish Priest with pardons for divers Papists.'

Such tales represent the harmless side of Puritan superstition, but accompanying them are many reports of religious fanaticism developing into homicidal mania. Here are two instances, both apparently well authenticated.

In December 1647 a family living at Kirkby moor-side, Yorkshire, consisted of a mother, son, daughter, and son-in-law. As the outcome of controversial discussions the younger members of the family sacrificed successively a cock, a hen, a calf, and their mother, whom they slowly put to death with a chisel, leaping and skipping around her for the space of half an hour and crying out, 'Oh, the strength of Israel.' When apprehended, they pleaded that they were commanded by God to cut her head and bruise her heel. The second narrative relates to a Kentish family named Champion, consisting of a Presbyterian husband, a Baptist wife, and a baby born in February 1647. The husband persisted in ordering that the child should be baptised, and the wife, rather than consent, cut off the baby's head and gave it to her husband saying, 'Christen the head if you will, but never the body!'

Had the Presbyterian controversialists confined themselves to denouncing such crimes as these, and the fanaticism which led to them, their cause would have called for nothing but sympathy from future generations; but their claim went immeasurably further than this.

We are so used at the present time to consider the toleration of all, or nearly all, forms of religious, social, or political belief as a necessary condition of civilisation, that we find it difficult to place ourselves in the position of the Presbyterian of the seventeenth century. Intolerance is to-day a word of reproach, tolerance a common but praiseworthy quality. To the Presbyterian of the date of which we write the words conveyed precisely the opposite significance. The toleration of error was to him a perfectly novel and absolutely wicked proposition, hitherto as undreamt of in any Protestant as in any Catholic country. 'Toleration,' says Thomas Edwards, 'is the grand designe of the Devil, his masterpeice and the chiefe Engine he works by to uphold his tottering Kingdome'; and again, 'As Originall Sin is the most fundamentall sin so Toleration hath all errors in it. Therefore I hope the Parliament, Assembly, City, and the whole Kingdom, considering the evill of a Toleration, will abominate the very thought of it.' Thomas Bailly was what we should now call a broad-minded and kind-hearted man, yet he expresses his amazement at the demands of one of the 'Five Dissenting Brethren in the Assembly of Divines' thus: 'He is openly for a full liberty of conscience to all sects, even Turks, Jews, and Papists.'

A dropping fire of controversy on this subject had been carried on since the meeting of the Long Parliament. Henry Burton, Roger Williams, Mrs Katherine Chidley ('a brazen-faced, audacious old woman,' according to Edwards; certainly a very able controversialist), and several others, had written in favour of toleration. The claims put forward by these writers, and by the 'Five Dissenting Brethren,' vary considerably. The majority of the Independents admit the necessity of a national church, but claim a 'limited toleration' for themselves and for other Protestant sects. Others go a step farther and would admit even Prelatists to worship God quietly in their own fashion; while a few extremists, such as

Roger Williams, are in favour of the abolition of endowments and tithes, and of absolute freedom of worship.

The Presbyterian claim admits of a perfectly clear definition. Presbyterianism is the one form of worship which is in perfect accord with the will of God. It is also the Church of England as by law established. It is therefore the duty of the State to enforce the absolute and entire conformity of the whole nation to the Presbyterian doctrines and discipline, to suppress all other forms of religion, and to punish all those who profess them. During the years 1645 and 1646 the Presbyterians, thoroughly alarmed at the strength given to their opponents by the embodiment of the new model army, opened a united attack on the Independents and 'Sectaries,' in which Prynne, Featley, Paget, and many other well known Presbyterians took part. The most notable of these controversialists was Thomas Edwards, a sort of seventeenth century Cobbett, gifted with a mordant pen, a genius for vituperation, and a hatred for all who were not exactly of his own way of thinking, so furious that it must have been sincere. We have already quoted from his *'Gangraena, or a catalogue and discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the Sectaries of this time,'* which appeared in three successive portions during the course of the year 1646. One more quotation will suffice to give a general idea of Edwards' style and the purport of his book.

'Things have growne to a strange passe, and every day they grow worse and worse. You have, most noble Senators, done worthily against Papists, Prelates, and Scandalous Ministers in casting down Images, Altars, and Crucifixes, but what have you done against other kinds of growing heresies, against Seekers, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Brownists, Libertines?'

and so forth for fifty pages. Edwards gives a list of some hundred and fifty current heresies. Many of these are commonplace, many others are startling enough, but that which will have the greatest interest to our own generation is Heresy No. 154, which is aimed against Milton's *'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.'* Milton's reply is contained in his sonnet *'On the New Forcers of Conscience,'* in which he refers to Edwards thus:

'Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
 Must now be named and printed heretics
 By shallow Edwards.'

The famous line which ends this sonnet—

'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large'

—is an exact and unexaggerated definition of the position to which the Presbyterian ministers aspired.

Edwards was the last man to foresee that he would owe his fame, such as it is, to these immortal lines. He probably regarded as infinitely more important the mass of answers, as bitter and envenomed as his own attack, which poured forth in quick succession. It is worth while quoting the titles of one or two of these, as fair examples of the quips, quirks, and conceits which the divines of the period borrowed or burlesqued from the later Elizabethan and Jacobean poets and dramatists whose works they professed to hold in horror. One is entitled 'Cretensis, or a brief answer to an ulcerous Treaty lately published by Mr Edwards,' by John Goodwin, to which a reply was issued under the title, 'A Nosegay of rank-smelling flowers such as grow in Mr Goodwin's garden.' Another is Lanseter's 'Lance for Edwards' Gangrene, or a ripping up and laying open some rotten, corrupt, stinking matter in Mr Edwards his Gangrene,' by John Lanseter. One more title, somewhat less unsavoury, will suffice. 'A plain and faithful discovery of a beame in Master Edwards his eye,' by E. Draper. In May 1647 Edwards enjoyed the perilous distinction of being the one person denounced by name by the Agitators of the Army, who, in presenting their grievances to Parliament, 'refuse to particularize any name, unless Mr Edwards for his Gangrene, which he is charged to put forth to make the army odious to the Kingdom.' Edwards, after this, thought it wise to fly to Holland. He was probably well advised; but his departure and death a few months later made little difference. He left no lack of disputants behind him. In all this prolonged quarrel it is refreshing to find one sentence of good-humoured and sensible advice. It comes, of all possible people, from Hugh Peters, who writes, 'I could wish we

that are Ministers might pray together, or, if that cannot be, let us speake, eate, and drinke together, because, if I mistake not, estrangement hath brought us up to jealousie and hatred.' Dinner as a therapeutic agent to assuage the disease of theological hatred is an excellent idea, but in this case quite impracticable, for behind the bitterness of doctrinal divergency lay the sting of social contempt. The Civil War tended in no degree towards the breaking down of the barriers of caste. Presbyterians and Independents alike dearly loved a lord, and valued their own gentility. The regular ministers were as little disposed as any other class to forfeit their social position of university graduates and ordained clergymen. It is true that the leading Independent ministers were of the same rank, but behind them were a motley throng of 'illiterate mechanical preachers, priests of the lowest of the people,' shoemakers, tailors, 'a comfit maker in Bucklersbury,' or 'a woman that sells lace in Cheapside,' and so on.

The struggle against toleration was by no means confined to the ministers. Petition after petition was laid before Parliament by the Common Council, the freemen of London, the eastern counties, and all the strongholds of Presbyterianism. After long delay these petitions bore fruit, after their kind, in an 'Ordinance for the punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies,' which passed the Lords and Commons on May 2, 1648. The framers of this law followed pretty closely the order laid down in 'Gangraena.' They divided the various heresies into two classes. The first consisted of the more serious errors. Those who preached or assented to these are liable to the punishment of death, unless they recant, in which case they remain in prison until they find two substantial sureties. If they again relapse, they shall be executed. The second class, consisting of such minor heresies as maintaining that 'Church government by Presbytery is unlawful,' is punishable by imprisonment until recanted. Had such a law been carried out, it is obvious that none but orthodox Presbyterians would have remained unhung or outside the prison walls; but it was passed by a moribund Parliament which had entirely lost the power to put its ideal system into practice, and there is no reason to believe that any prosecu-

tions were actually carried out under its drastic clauses. It remained on the Statute-book until August 1650, when it was superseded by a 'Blasphemy Act' of a milder character, aimed chiefly at the immoral tendencies of 'Seekers' and 'Ranters,' and at Messiahs and other semi-lunatics.

Step by step with the growing bitterness of the theological controversy, the political breach between Presbyterians and Independents widened and deepened with every succeeding year. It is not possible here to enter into the history of the complicated and tortuous negotiations which passed during the years 1646 to 1648 between the King, the Army, the Parliament, and the Scottish leaders. It must suffice to note the fact that, during this period, the army was moving steadily in one direction, the Parliament in the opposite. The superior officers of the army were still in some measure divided, some following the extreme views of Ireton, others adhering to the more conservative instincts of Fairfax; but the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was meanwhile taking complete possession of the rank and file; loyalty to the Crown was daily being replaced by republicanism; and Charles himself was developing into the man of blood, who was to be called to account 'for the blood he had shed and the evil he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations.'

The Presbyterians in and out of Parliament were moving as steadily towards a restoration. They had never been republicans; they were now ready to become enthusiastic royalists if only they could induce the King to accept the position of a covenanted figure-head to carry out their cherished scheme of universal, compulsory Presbyterianism. Their guiding motive was, after all, not so much loyalty to the Throne or personal devotion to the King, as terror and hatred of the Army—a sentiment in which Parliament and the Presbyterian ministers were entirely at one with the Common Council and the citizens of London.

Merely to read through the petitions and protests against the 'unchristian, scandalous, treacherous, rebellious, tyrannical, jesuiticall, bloody counsels and exorbitancies of this Army of Saints,' is to solve one of the

most curious paradoxes of English history—the hatred of a standing army, traces of which may still be found among a nation singularly devoted at heart to warlike methods and qualities.

Nothing in the whole collection is more remarkable than the evidence afforded by the tracts for the years 1647 and 1648, not merely of the hope, but of the confident expectation of the citizens of London in the success of the 'Personal Treaty' with the King, both before, during, and after the negotiations at Newport in the autumn of 1648. It may seem strange to us, with our wider knowledge of King Charles, of the Parliament, and of the leaders of the Army, that any sane person could have believed for a moment in the success of this 'Personal Treaty.' We know enough of Charles I to be confident that he was the last man in the world to play the part of a Venetian Doge, complacently sanctioning the action of a Presbyterian clique engaged in establishing a political and religious system every detail of which was abhorrent to him. We know enough also of the spirit of the army to be sure that no settlement made without their consent could have stood for a fortnight. There may have been a few at the head of affairs who realised the insuperable difficulties of the situation, but the citizen of London, the contemporary 'man in the street,' was in a different position, and the accumulated evidence of hundreds of newspapers and pamphlets is quite conclusive as to his conviction of the King's speedy restoration and the enforced disbandment of the army. That Charles himself was of the same opinion is clearly shown by his own words on the first day of his trial, January 20, 1649.

'I was' (he says) 'not long ago in the Isle of Wight. There I entered into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament. I treated them with as much public faith as it is possible to be had of any people in the world. I cannot say but they dealt very nobly with me. We were upon the conclusion of the Treaty.'

The impossible position was solved by Pride's Purge, December 6, 1648, by which a hundred and forty members were excluded from the House of Commons and the Presbyterian majority finally crushed. Comparisons

between any given event of the English Civil War and of the French Revolution usually lead to the discovery of the absolute divergencies which underlie superficial similarities. But there is a curiously close resemblance between Pride's Purge and the *Coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, an V (September 4, 1797). In each case the moderate majority was accused of aiming at a restoration of the royal authority and of enmity to the army. In each case the moderate party was destroyed and the extremists placed in power by an armed force, drawn from the regular army, and so powerful as to be irresistible. In each case the *Coup d'état*, after a short interval of anarchy and confusion, led to the despotic rule of a successful military officer. In point of fact this military officer in each case proved to be an able and just ruler; but this was a fortunate accident rather than a justification of a violent overthrow of the representative Government. In at least one detail the analogy is curiously complete. In a contemporary account of Pride's Purge appears the following passage:

'About three of the clock in the afternoon' (December 6, 1648) 'Hugh Peter, with a sword by his side like a boisterous souldier, came rushing in to see the prisoners and take a list of their names, when some of the prisoners, demanding of him by what authority they were thus imprisoned and kept from their duty, he answered, "By the power of the sword."'

When the members of the Corps Législatif, arrested on September 4, 1797, asked the officer who was conveying them to the Temple by what authority he dared to arrest the Representatives of the people, he replied, 'By the law of the sword.' There is not the smallest reason to suppose that the French officer had so much as heard of Pride or the Reverend Hugh Peters. In both cases the laconic answer was the simplest possible statement of the fact.

Here we must close. We have touched only on one or two of the many points of interest contained in this inexhaustible treasure-house; but we hope that enough has been said to justify Carlyle's dictum that the Thomason Tracts form 'the most valuable set of documents connected with English history.'

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Art. XII.—GOLD RESERVES.

1. *Lombard Street*. By Walter Bagehot. New and revised edition, with notes by E. Johnstone. London: Kegan Paul, 1901.
2. *The Theory of the Foreign Exchanges*. By the Right Hon. Viscount Goschen. London: Effingham Wilson, 1903.
3. *The Royal Mint*. Thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh annual Reports of the Deputy-Master and Comptroller of the Mint. London: Darling and Son, 1904 and 1907.
4. *United States Mint*. Annual Report of the Director of the Mint for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907.

THE strained condition of the money markets of the world throughout the whole of 1907, and the American 'raid' on the gold reserves of Europe during the last three months of the year have reawakened public interest in the question whether the gold reserves of the United Kingdom are altogether adequate for the work which they are liable to be called upon to perform.

The world's reserves of loanable capital are held in gold, and gold is the base upon which all operations in credit must ultimately rest. The predominant position which Great Britain holds in the trade of the world and the volume of her international financial transactions render this question one of peculiar interest and importance at the present juncture. Hitherto the matter has been treated as a purely banking question; but this is a mistake; the question is one of national importance, and it affects in a vital and practical manner the whole mercantile community. Bankers occupy such a peculiar position in the controversy that it may be questioned whether it is altogether reasonable to leave to them alone the solution of this difficult problem. They are called upon to reconcile many conflicting interests; they must look to the dividends of their shareholders, and they have at the same time to fulfil their obligations to depositors and borrowers. Then, again, there is evidence of a distinct line of cleavage between the interests

of the country bankers in this matter of gold reserves and those of the London bankers; and, on the whole, it is not surprising to find that, with all these conflicting influences in operation, the progress of the movement in favour of larger gold reserves is exceedingly slow and ineffective.

Under the stimulus of costly credit the mercantile community have lately evinced a more general interest in the question, and the Chambers of Commerce are beginning to take it up. This tendency is a matter for congratulation as the question has a direct bearing upon the economic welfare of the people of the United Kingdom, and by them it should be ultimately determined.

In a general survey of the question it will be desirable to consider at some length the functions of a gold reserve, firstly, in connexion with internal currency, and secondly, in the adjustment of international financial and commercial transactions.

For all practical purposes the legal tenders of the United Kingdom are gold and Bank of England notes, which are, of course, convertible into gold at the holders' option. Various estimates have from time to time been made as to the amount of gold in circulation in the United Kingdom, the most important being as shown in the following table:

	£
Mr Newmarch's estimate, 1856	75,000,000
Mr Jevons' estimate, 1868 (under)	80,000,000
Mr Inglis Palgrave's estimate, 1883 (a wide limit)	110,000,000
The Royal Mint's estimate, 1888	102,500,000
The Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimate, 1892	90,000,000
The Royal Mint's estimate, 1895—	
In active circulation £62,500,000	
In reserves held by banks 30,000,000	
	<hr/> 92,500,000
The Royal Mint's estimate, 1903—in active circulation	63,500,000
Estimate of the Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint, 1908—	
In active circulation £84,000,000	
In banks 32,000,000	
	<hr/> 116,000,000

In his annual Report for 1903 the Deputy-Master and Comptroller of the Mint states that the estimate made by his department of the gold coin in active circulation in 1895 was arrived at by five distinct methods. It may be observed that the methods used in 1856, 1868, and

1888 would give maximum amounts, and the results of the recoinage of light gold coin show that the estimate of 1888 was too high, and that the estimate of 1895 was a closer approximation to the truth. In fact, all the estimates made prior to that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1892 were based on imperfect data, and must be regarded as excessive. In 1903 the Royal Mint estimated the minimum number of sovereigns in circulation at 45,216,000, and half-sovereigns to the value of 18,500,000£. This estimate included sovereigns in circulation in all parts of the world which are affected by the regulations as to the withdrawal of light gold coin. The number was in close agreement with the estimate of 45,000,000 made in 1895, and it may be inferred that prior to 1904 the amount of the sovereign circulation did not rapidly increase. Having regard to the enormous amount of gold coin issued by the Royal Mint between 1895 and 1903 in excess of the light gold coin withdrawn, it is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that the additions to the stock of gold in the banks and in circulation between those years should have been so small, and an interesting explanation of the discrepancy is furnished in the report of the Deputy-Master of the Mint above referred to. Starting from the Mint estimate of 1895, the following table shows the issues and withdrawals in the period that elapsed:

Mint estimate in 1895	£ 62,500,000
Issued 1895-1903	£57,680,000
Received from Australia	15,414,000
	<hr/> (say) 73,100,000
	135,600,000
Withdrawals of light coin 1895-1903	19,100,000
	<hr/> 116,500,000

Comparing this balance with the estimate of 63,500,000£. made for 1903, there remained a sum of 53,000,000£. to be accounted for other than by the withdrawal of light gold. The removal of gold coin from circulation cannot be accounted for with even approximate accuracy, but is attributed mainly to the following causes: (1) melting of sovereigns for the manufacture of jewellery; (2) melting of coin for recoinage by foreign mints; (3) melting of newly issued coin by bullion dealers; and (4) additions to

hoards of individuals, banks or foreign Governments. Jewellery absorbs at least half a million a year of the gold coins issued by the Royal Mint; foreign mints are estimated to take from four and a half to five millions a year, including Australian coins, and the balance is probably accounted for by the transactions of the bullion dealers and the accumulations of foreign Governments.

The amount of our bank-note issue is defined by the provisions of the Bank Act of 1844. By this Act the Issue department of the Bank of England was established, and the Bank was authorised to issue a certain amount of bank-notes against Government securities, apart from its store of gold. This is called the fiduciary issue; for all the rest it must have bullion deposited. The Bank's first charter was dated July 27, 1694, and the original subscription was 1,200,000*l.*, which was raised for a loan to the Government at 8 per cent. This debt of the Government was subsequently increased by various amounts until in 1816 it reached 14,686,800*l.*; but one-fourth of this was subsequently repaid, and since 1860 the amount has stood at 11,015,100*l.*, on which the Bank now receives 2½ per cent. interest. By the Act of 1844 the Issue department of the Bank was authorised to issue notes to the amount of 14,000,000*l.* against Government securities (of which the sum due to the Bank from the Government was to form part), in addition to the amount of bullion and specie for the time being in the vaults of the Issue department. The authorised issue of bank-notes was raised by degrees to 15,000,000*l.*, at which figure it stood for a number of years until April 1881, when it was raised to 15,750,000*l.*, and it is now 18,450,000*l.* The addition made since 1844 to the amount which the Bank issues against securities alone has been due to lapsed country issues being taken up to the extent of two-thirds by the Bank.

In 1844 the currency included, as it still does, a certain amount of notes issued by country banks; but the addition made to the fiduciary issue of the Bank, 4,450,000*l.*, has not equalled the amount of the private issues which have lapsed since that date, the figures being as follows:

	Fixed issues of Banks under Act of 1844. £		Total fixed issues of surviving Banks, January 1908, £
<i>England—</i>		<i>England—</i>	
Bank of England . .	14,000,000	Bank of England . .	18,450,000
207 private banks . .	5,153,417	12 private banks . .	482,744
72 joint-stock banks . .	3,478,230	14 joint-stock banks . .	912,308
Total for England . .	22,631,647	Total for England . .	19,845,052
<i>Scotland—</i>		<i>Scotland—</i>	
19 joint-stock banks . .	3,087,209	9 joint-stock banks . .	2,676,350
<i>Ireland—</i>		<i>Ireland—</i>	
6 joint-stock banks . .	6,354,494	6 joint-stock banks . .	6,354,494
Total for the United Kingdom . . .	32,073,350	Total for the United Kingdom . . .	28,875,896

It will be observed that the total of the fiduciary issue of the Bank of England and the fixed issues of the joint-stock banks is about 3,200,000*l.* less than it was in 1844. On the other hand there has, of course, been an increase in the amount of notes issued against bullion and specie. The average amount of Bank of England notes in circulation in 1872 was 25,523,000*l.*; the average note circulation for 1907 was 28,940,000*l.* The bulk of the increased note circulation is probably in the hands of the banks. Having regard to the enormous growth of the trade of the United Kingdom since 1844, the expansion in the amount of the note circulation of the Bank of England appears ridiculously disproportionate.

Summarising the conclusions arrived at above, it may be said that the approximate stock of money in the United Kingdom is as stated hereunder :

Gold coin—	£	£
In circulation.	84,000,000	
In banks (say)	32,000,000	
		116,000,000
Bank of England and other notes (uncovered paper)		23,900,000
Silver coin—		
In circulation.	18,000,000	
In banks	5,000,000	
		23,000,000
Total		167,900,000

The above estimate of 116,000,000*l.* as the amount of gold coin in circulation and in the banks includes, however, the circulation outside as well as inside the United Kingdom, and is therefore of course too high for the United Kingdom alone; on the other hand, there is a large amount (probably not less than 15,000,000*l.*) of

bullion and foreign gold coin held by the Bank of England which will to some extent set off the amount of British gold coin held abroad. Sir Robert Giffen estimates the total stock of gold in the United Kingdom, including bullion and foreign coin, at 85,000,000*l*.

This stock of money would be wholly inadequate for the purpose of conducting the financial transactions of this country were it not for the fact that there is in existence, in conjunction with it, a circulating medium of the most marvellous elasticity and capacity for expansion. England has attained her wonderful economy in the use of gold largely by the adoption of a circulating medium consisting of cheques. Some idea of the magnitude of the cheque circulation may be gathered from the fact that the amount of bills, cheques, etc., paid at the London Bankers' Clearing House during 1907 was 12,730,393,000*l*. High authorities estimate that the annual circulation is at least half as large again, and therefore the total amount of unsecured paper circulated during last year may be estimated at about 19,000,000,000*l*. From the available data with regard to the average life of bills, cheques, etc., it may be further estimated that the average face value of the cheques, etc., in circulation, lies between 65,000,000*l*. and 85,000,000*l*. In 1872 the total amount of cheques, etc., paid at the Bankers' Clearing House was 5,916,452,000*l*. During the past twenty-five years there has therefore been an increase of 115 per cent. in the circulation of uncovered paper in the form of cheques, etc. The growth of the amount of unsecured paper in circulation fully accounts for the comparative stagnation in the bank-note circulation, and at the same time it affords one of the most serious obstacles to the creation of additional gold reserves.

For internal currency purposes gold is yearly becoming less essential. The growth of the joint-stock banks and the tendency to concentrate business in the hands of the large amalgamating institutions is one of the most powerful influences which have tended to restrict the use of notes and gold for internal currency purposes. It is a striking fact that the six leading joint-stock banks in England control nearly one-third of the entire banking resources of the country. The rapid multiplication of branch banks has been one of the most marked

features of recent banking history. There are at present about 7700 banking offices in the United Kingdom, as compared with about 3000 in existence twenty-five years ago. The opening of branch offices has a tendency to increase to some extent the amount of gold and notes required for till-money; but this is quite off-set by the economy in notes and specie which results from the substitution of cheques as the circulating medium. The machinery for the adjustment of financial transactions by means of cheques and bills of exchange is perfect; and, so far as domestic transactions are concerned, we are approaching—if we have not already reached—a condition of affairs which has been aptly described as ‘a gold standard with or without a gold currency.’

The function of a gold reserve in relation to the internal currency of the country is to meet any extra demand which may arise from some sudden apprehension or panic. All the banks keep as till-money a supply of notes and gold which experience has enabled them to measure to a nicety. There is a certain extra demand at quarter days in connexion with the payment of salaries, etc., and there is also a drain of gold to the provinces at certain periods of the year; but these demands are largely seasonal and can be easily gauged.

As will be shown later on, the total liabilities of the joint-stock banks of the United Kingdom on current and deposit accounts amount to an aggregate sum of about 875,000,000*l.*, while the total stock of gold coin and bullion held by these institutions can hardly exceed 50,000,000*l.* At the first glance this would appear to be a wholly insufficient stock of gold; but when the fact is borne in mind that the banks’ depositors are to a very large extent the banks’ borrowers, it will be appreciated that the great bulk of the liability on deposits would be discharged by cross entries in the books of the banks. And further, the possibilities of a sudden large demand for gold, for internal currency purposes, are yearly becoming less. The banking business of the country is drifting rapidly into fewer hands, and the very magnitude of the remaining institutions renders it almost certain that in the event of trouble arising all the large banks would, as a matter of self-preservation, have to co-operate to prevent one of their number collapsing. At

the same time there is a certain danger which it would not be prudent to ignore, and the experience of the American banks during the past six months has brought out vividly the disastrous effects which follow a loss of confidence on the part of depositors. During the course of the recent crisis upwards of 40,000,000*l.* were hoarded.

The smallness of the metallic reserves of the United Kingdom is emphasised when comparison is made with the stocks of gold retained by the other great commercial countries; and the following figures, which illustrate this point, have been taken from the Report of the United States Mint Bureau for the year to June 30, 1907.

—	Stock of Gold—		Total.	Per capita.	
	In Banks and Public Treasuries.	In circulation.		Gold.	Gold, Silver, and Paper.
Great Britain .	£ 39,280,000	£ 58,060,000	£ 97,340,000	2·2	3·26
France . . .	104,020,000	81,260,000	185,280,000	4·71	8·17
Germany . .	29,140,000	176,920,000	206,060,000	3·4	5·0
United States .	216,300,000	102,360,000	318,660,000	3·73	6·79

Of course these, at first sight alarming figures, must be considered in connexion with the somewhat different position of each country. There are special circumstances, for instance, in the case of Great Britain which have enabled this country to conduct its gigantic business on a gold base which is, comparatively speaking, of exceedingly small dimensions. The most important of these influences may be found to lie in the fact that we are the greatest creditor nation. Our income from investments abroad alone can be put at not less than 145,000,000*l.* per annum; and last year the gold-producing possessions paid the mother-country 37,000,000*l.* in gold. This annual tribute of gold is a great source of strength to our gold stock.

But if gold is falling into desuetude for internal currency purposes quite a contrary tendency is observable in connexion with its use in the adjustment of international balances. There are three methods by means of which a country can discharge its external indebtedness. Foreign debts may be paid (1) by the purchase and remittance of exchange and cable transfers; (2) by the export of gold; and (3) by the creation of foreign loans.

The foreign trade of this country is conducted chiefly by means of bills of exchange. In general practice the actual creditor in one country does not receive payment direct from his debtor in another. International claims are adjusted principally through the medium of the exchange brokers, who exchange the promises to pay of the merchants of different countries, and those bills for which British merchants are responsible ultimately find their way to London, and so with other countries. An exchange of debts takes place; foreign debtors pay foreign creditors, and home debtors pay home creditors. The exchanges between different countries are determined by the balance of trade. If the sum owing abroad by this country amounts exactly to the sum which is owing to it the accounts are settled without the exchange of gold. If Great Britain owes more abroad than is owing to her, gold is exported to meet the balance of the debt, which the outflow of exported goods has been insufficient to cancel, and the outflow of gold will continue until the balance is restored. On the other hand, if a larger sum is owing to this country than is payable by her, gold will flow into the United Kingdom. The most convenient medium for settling differences is gold, and the function of gold in international trade is the maintenance of this equilibrium of indebtedness.

During the past fifteen years there has been a marked increase in the movement of bullion in the settlement of international mercantile and financial balances. This is in some measure due to the growth of the foreign trade of countries whose economic development is backward, and to the growth of trade with countries which hoard gold, such as India and Egypt. No doubt it would be right also to ascribe no small share of the expansion to the increased output of the gold mines of the world since 1894.

The movements of treasure in connexion with the adjustment of the trade balance of the United Kingdom for the past fourteen years may be judged by the figures for the years 1894, 1899, 1904, and 1907 :

Year.	GOLD AND SILVER.	
	Imports. £	Exports. £
1894	38,578,000	27,812,000
1899	45,261,000	35,491,000
1904	45,564,000	46,303,000
1907	73,072,439	67,786,858

The imports and exports of gold and silver have increased in value since 1894 by the sum of 74,469,000*l.* or 112 per cent.

As the volume of foreign trade increases the reserve of gold, upon which all exchange and international financial operations are based, ought to be correspondingly increased; but when reference is made to the statistics bearing upon this aspect of the question it will be found that quite a contrary tendency has hitherto prevailed.

Unfortunately there are no reliable data available as to the exact amount of gold coin and bullion in the banks and in currency in the United Kingdom, but there is very good reason to believe that during the past twenty years the additions made to the stock of gold in the country have been comparatively small. In 1895 the Royal Mint estimated the amount of gold coin in circulation at 62,500,000*l.* and the amount in reserves held by the banks at 30,000,000*l.* The Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint estimates the amount at present in circulation at 84,000,000*l.* and in the banks of the United Kingdom at 32,000,000*l.* It must be borne in mind that this total of 116,000,000*l.* relates to gold coin in circulation in all parts of the world affected by the regulations as to the withdrawal of light gold coin. On the whole, it will not be unsafe to assume that the net addition to the stock of gold coin held in the United Kingdom since 1887 has not exceeded 10,000,000*l.*, or, say, 10 per cent. On the other hand, there has been a remarkable expansion in the volume of our foreign trade during that period, the figures being as shown hereunder:

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
1887. . . .	362,227,504	281,262,885	643,490,389
1897. . . .	451,028,960	294,174,118	745,203,078
1907. . . .	645,904,176	518,176,737	1,164,080,913

Thus, while the stock of gold held by the banks and in circulation has only increased by about 10 per cent. since 1887, there has during that period been an expansion in the volume of our foreign trade of upwards of 80 per cent.

Not only has the practically stationary banking reserve of this country had to bear the strain of this enormous development of foreign trade, but it has, at the same time, been called upon to finance a still larger growth of the fixed capital issues in the shape of Stock Exchange securities. The extent of this growth is clearly indicated by the fact that the total value of the securities quoted in the official list of the London Stock Exchange, exclusive of foreign stocks (coupons payable abroad), has increased from 5,676,000,000*l.*, at the end of 1898, to 7,900,000,000*l.* at the end of 1907, a growth during the decade of 2,224,000,000*l.* The international financial operations which the creation and issue of the vast portion of this total, which relates to investments outside the United Kingdom, have involved must have contributed to an important extent to the state of extreme tension recently experienced by our money market. This country is now investing capital abroad at the rate of between 70,000,000*l.* and 80,000,000*l.* per annum. The immediate effect of a foreign loan is to increase for the moment our indebtedness to foreign nations.

It would be difficult to lay too much emphasis upon the fact that while our foreign trade and our international liabilities have been increasing by leaps and bounds, our banking reserve, that is to say, our stock of gold, has been practically stationary. At the end of 1898 the Bank of England held gold coin and bullion to the value of 29,337,841*l.* At the end of 1907 the stock of gold coin and bullion in the Bank was 30,745,846*l.* That amount has recently been raised, by the drastic remedy of a 7 per cent. bank rate, to upwards of 40,000,000*l.* This fact and the course of events in the money market during the past six months have once again proved that, while the Bank of England cannot prevent a sudden raid upon its store of gold, it possesses an effectual instrument by means of which it can speedily replenish its depleted reserves. That instrument is, of course, the elevation of its rate of discount. Experience has proved time after time that if the interest on money be raised high enough, money comes to London. Loanable capital, like every other commodity, goes where there is most to be made of it, and so long as British credit is good continental bankers and others will continue to send to this country

great sums of money as soon as the rate of interest indicates that this can be done profitably. For this reason, therefore, a rise in the value of money in London immediately brings gold to London.

But however efficient this instrument for the protection of the stock of gold held at the Bank of England may be regarded from a banking point of view, its operation is viewed with very qualified feelings of approval by the mercantile community. The point to which the Bank of England was recently compelled to raise its rate of discount, namely 7 per cent., has dislocated trade and resulted in enormous losses to the commercial interests of the country. This was perhaps to some extent unavoidable. So long as London remains the great centre of the monetary transactions of the world we cannot fail to be closely affected by the value of credit in the other great trading and commercial centres of the world; but there is good ground for the contention that if our banking reserves had been raised to an amount commensurate with the growth of our trading and financial business during the past twenty years, the monetary stringency which obtained during the latter half of 1907 would have been much less acutely felt in this country.

The production of gold has, of course, a most important bearing upon the question of gold reserves, and it will be of interest to review shortly the most salient features respecting the production of gold throughout the world. It may be recalled that, after the discovery of the Californian goldfields and the Australian goldfields in the early fifties, no fresh sources of supply were discovered until the early eighties, and there was no appreciable increase in the amount of the output between 1851 and 1882. As a matter of fact the production for 1882 was the lowest recorded since 1852 (the data relating to earlier years are unreliable). But from 1882 onwards new fields were rapidly opened up. Gold was discovered in New Zealand and Queensland, and then in India. In 1886 the Rand began its marvellous career as a gold producer, and a little later rich discoveries were made in West Australia, Alaska, and the Klondyke-Yukon district. Rhodesia began to add to the production in 1898, and West Africa, after centuries of production on a small

scale, took her place as an important source of supply in 1899, and quite recently Mexico has begun to produce gold on a large scale.

Owing to the discoveries enumerated above there has been a remarkable expansion in the production of gold since 1882. The value of the amount produced in that year was estimated at 19,960,000*l.*; the production for 1907 may be estimated at about 82,300,000*l.*, an increase of upwards of 300 per cent.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that the years which have witnessed the largest production of gold hitherto recorded should have been years of extreme monetary stringency. Two of the principal causes which have contributed to this result—the expansion of foreign trade and the vast multiplication of Stock Exchange securities—have already been indicated. The other important influences which have rendered the increased gold production of little avail in lightening the strain on the money markets now deserve attention.

The consumption of gold is a question which raises many instructive considerations. Reliable estimates place the value of the world's production of gold during 1906 at about 80,100,000*l.*, and from the summary of the coinages of the world contained in the Report of the Royal Mint for 1906 it appears that during that year gold to the value of 68,710,000*l.* was coined, thus leaving a balance of about 11,400,000*l.* uncoined. Apparently, therefore, the great bulk of the annual production is coined, but this by no means implies that there is a corresponding addition to the world's stock of gold coin in use for monetary purposes. Much of it is absorbed by the manufacturers of jewellery and the arts, and much is simply hoarded. The United States Mint Bureau estimated the world's consumption of the precious metal in 1906 for these purposes at about 24,300,000*l.*, and this estimate will be generally accepted. Of course the amount varies with the state of trade, but 18,000,000*l.* to 23,000,000*l.* is a fair estimate. The United Kingdom uses from 2,500,000*l.* to 3,500,000*l.* per annum in this way. Then there is the other great channel of consumption, the hoarding of gold by individuals, banks, and Governments. India is probably the greatest of all the hoarding countries; the tide of gold and silver has been flowing

into India for centuries. For the forty-eight years ending March 31, 1907, India imported and retained for hoarding and the arts gold to the value of 162,500,000*l.*, or at the rate of nearly 3,400,000*l.* per annum. Egypt, again, in common with all oriental countries, has always hoarded gold; but until the development of her cotton growing industry had reached its present important stage her annual absorption of the precious metal was not appreciable. Now, however, it has assumed formidable dimensions, and the Egyptian gold drain has added another anxiety to those which have hitherto attended the protection of our gold reserve. It is interesting to recall that, in acknowledging the presentation of the freedom of the City of London in October last, Lord Cromer alluded to this question, and pointed out that a great deal of the money that goes to Egypt never comes back again. During the past four years the imports of gold into Egypt amounted to 13,000,000*l.* more than the exports, or at the rate of 3,250,000*l.* per annum. As to what became of this vast quantity of coin his lordship said it was impossible to give an answer. A small quantity found its way into the interior of Africa, and a great deal was converted into jewellery; he was informed that no less than one and a half to two millions were thus disposed of in 1906. Hoarding was carried on to an extent which appeared almost incredible to Europeans, of which he gave a few instances. A short time ago an Egyptian gentleman died leaving a fortune of 80,000*l.*, the whole of which was in gold coin in his cellars. Then, again, Lord Cromer had heard of a substantial yeoman—a village sheikh, as he was called in Egypt, a class enormously increased in wealth and prosperity in recent years—who bought a property for 25,000*l.* Half an hour after the contract was signed he appeared with a train of donkeys bearing on their backs the money, which had been buried in his garden. Lord Cromer added that on the occasion of a fire in a provincial town no less than 5000*l.* was found hidden in earthen pots.

Then, again, the demonetisation of silver has thrown a heavy additional burden upon the gold stock of the world, and a large proportion of the increased output has been absorbed by the great countries which have adopted the gold standard since 1872. These include

the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Argentina, and Mexico. The abnormal demands from these sources have been to some extent supplied, and there is good reason to anticipate that in future years the gold production will have a more appreciable effect on the money markets of the world than it has had in the past.

On the whole, perhaps, it is a fair estimate to assume that during the past decade not more than two-fifths of the production of gold has been available for purely monetary purposes. This point is fairly illustrated by some figures which are furnished in the last report of the United States Mint Bureau. From this report it would appear that since 1883 the world's production of gold was approximately 1,060,000,000*l.* while the additions to the stock of gold held by the principal banks and public treasuries of the world between 1893 and the end of 1907 was about 600,000,000*l.* Thus, during the period named, an approximate amount of 460,000,000*l.* was used in arts and manufactures, coined and put into circulation, or hoarded by individuals.

It is, of course, that portion of the world's stock of gold which is held by the banks with which we are mainly concerned in discussing the gold reserve; a word must therefore be said about the banks of Great Britain and the part they play in the matter.

The banking system of the United Kingdom is probably the most economical and efficient in the world, and a short account of the institutions which conduct the banking business of the country will be of interest. The principal institution, the Bank of England, is the oldest joint-stock bank in the country, and its first charter was dated July 27, 1694. Although the Bank undertakes many important duties on behalf of the State, it is in no sense a Government institution. It transacts the Government business, and has, among other privileges, the sole right of issuing notes within a radius of 65 miles around London. The powers of the Bank with regard to the issue of notes have been already fully described. The Bank receives annually from the Government the sum of 275,377*l.* interest at 2½ per cent. on the Government debt of 11,015,000*l.*, which forms part of the amount of the fiduciary issue of the Bank. The remuneration paid to

the Bank by the Government during the last financial year for its services amounted to 213,988*l.* which included 189,654*l.* paid from the Exchequer for management of the funded and unfunded debt. The payments received by the Government from the Bank amounted to 247,018*l.*, which included 186,593*l.* paid to the Exchequer in respect of the profits of note issue and 60,000*l.* paid to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in lieu of stamp duty on the note issue. These figures of course take no account of the gain which the Bank derived from having the custody of the Government balances. The paid-up capital of the Bank is 14,553,000*l.*, and the dividends paid for the past four years have averaged 9 per cent., quite a small distribution for a joint-stock bank. The rest, or reserve fund, amounts to 3,782,287*l.*

The constitution of the Bank of England, like that of many other venerable British institutions, presents certain anomalies ; but on the whole it will be generally conceded that the Bank has in the past performed in an admirable manner the difficult and complicated duties which have fallen to its lot. There is one matter, however, with regard to which it would be a distinct public advantage if the Bank could see its way to introduce some change of policy, and that is as to the form in which the weekly statement of its position is presented. This statement could easily be made more intelligible ; and detailed information should be furnished regarding the assets held by the Banking department termed 'other securities.' Again, it is particularly desirable that the bankers' balances should be separated from the other deposits. The Bank of England is the bankers' bank. All the most important financial and commercial transactions of the country are settled by cheques and other paper promises of payment. These cheques are paid in to the Clearing-House, and the balances resulting are adjusted by transfers from the account of one banker to another at the Bank of England. The bankers' balances have been given in special returns, and, about 1877, were published in the Statistical Abstract through favour of the Bank of England ; but they have never appeared regularly in an official return. It has been pointed out that by a curious coincidence the figures of 1877 showed that four times during that year the Bank of England had no reserve beyond those

balances belonging to the London banks. During the autumn of last year a motion was made in the House of Commons for the renewed publication of the return, but it was opposed by the Treasury.

Invidious comparisons have recently been made between the position of the Bank of England and the Bank of France, and attention has been drawn to the fact that credit is much cheaper and far more uniform in value in France than it is in this country. But it must be borne in mind that the Bank of France has a comparatively simple duty to perform. She has the option of meeting her obligations in silver. Then the French people are not favourably disposed towards speculative transactions, and the investing classes of that country look to safety rather than to a high yield upon their investments. The large stock of gold which the Bank of France is able to retain is largely due to the willingness of the French people to use the notes of the Bank of France as the principal circulating medium. The notes of the Bank of France are held by the people of that country to a far larger extent than is the case with regard to our own Bank of England notes; and perhaps one of the most promising schemes for the strengthening of the gold stock of the Bank of England would be the substitution of Bank notes of a small denomination for a portion of the gold coin at present in circulation.

In addition to the Bank of England there are about ninety other joint-stock banks in the United Kingdom. These banks vary greatly in size; the scope of their business extends in some cases over very large districts, and in others it is comparatively small and local. Of the banks which conduct a metropolitan and country business, the principal are Lloyds, with 506 branches and total resources of 75,670,000*l.*, the London, City, and Midland Bank, with 494 branches and total resources of 63,541,000*l.*, and Barclay's Bank, with 452 branches and total resources of 50,373,000*l.* There are many large banks which carry on a purely provincial business, among the principal being the Bank of Liverpool, with 127 branches and total resources of 17,681,000*l.*, the Manchester and County Bank, with 100 branches and total resources of 12,591,000*l.*, and the York City and County Bank, with 178 branches and resources of 12,664,000*l.*

According to the figures contained in the banking supplement to the 'Economist' of October 1907, the total liabilities of all the banks of the United Kingdom, including the Bank of England, but excluding the Savings banks, may be estimated at about 1,091,600,000*l.*, of which the paid-up capital represented 79,717,000*l.*, and deposit and current accounts 874,500,000*l.* The manner in which this vast total is invested or employed is shown in the following table :—

	£
Cash in hand and money at call and short notice	242,792,000
British Government securities, where stated	115,632,000
Bonds, stocks, and other investments	98,110,000
Discounts (where stated separately)	76,922,000
Advances, loans, and other securities	513,330,000
Buildings and sundries	44,814,000
Total	1,091,600,000

The totals include the figures of the Bank of England, and there will, of course, be a considerable amount of money counted twice over.

The banking business of the United Kingdom is extremely profitable. All the banks do not publish profit and loss statements, but the amount of net profit earned during 1906 by fifty-six banks which do publish such statements was 8,418,644*l.*, or 719,171*l.* more than was earned for 1905. The profits for 1907 cannot fail to show a further large increase. The net profit of the fifty-six banks referred to was appropriated in the following manner. Dividends 6,962,233*l.*; amounts carried to reserve funds, etc., 1,455,412*l.*

The amount distributed in dividends by the English banks included in this statement worked out at about 15·3 per cent. on the share capital. By a policy of prudent and self-denying finance the banks of the United Kingdom have built up reserve funds which amount to the aggregate sum of 52,723,953*l.*, including undivided profit. These reserve funds really form part of the working capital of the banks, and perhaps it would be more accurate, in calculating the dividends paid by the above banks, to include their reserve funds; if this method be adopted the dividends paid work out at about 8·9 per cent.

This banking system has rendered incalculable assist-

ance to the development of British commerce. Its cheapness and efficiency is no doubt largely due to the perfection of its organisation and to the marvellous economy which it has attained in the use of gold; but it may be very seriously questioned whether the tendency to maintain a gold standard without a gold currency has not had the effect of allowing our stock of gold to remain at a figure which it is not unreasonable to regard as unsafe. It can hardly be maintained that a metallic banking reserve of 50,000,000*l.* is sufficient for the requirements of our domestic and foreign trades, and for the financing of the huge and complex monetary transactions which are daily conducted through London, and yet this is a favourable estimate of the amount of gold coin and bullion held by the banks of the United Kingdom, including the Bank of England.

The chief function of the banks is to circulate capital and to make credit uniform and cheap. It should be borne in mind that the financial stringency which results from overtrading in credit, or from a failure to maintain a sufficient metallic reserve, falls almost entirely upon the mercantile community, apart from the banks. The net profits of the banks of the United Kingdom for 1907 were higher than for many years past; and they were sufficiently large to enable most of these institutions to maintain their dividends and to provide to some extent for the depreciation which they suffered through the fall in the value of their securities.

It is the manifest duty of those who have the custody of the deposits of the people to maintain a sufficient reserve of gold to enable them to meet their engagements without violently disturbing the trade of the country. An adequate gold reserve is not a luxury; it is as vital as any other form of insurance; and if it be found that in order to retain 20,000,000*l.* or 30,000,000*l.* more gold in hand the banks must keep a larger proportion of their deposits idle, the cost should not be grudged any more than is the payment of fire or life insurance premiums. The case for the permanent enlargement of the gold reserves of the United Kingdom is, in fact, irresistible. Although a considerable and influential minority of bankers do not admit the need to be so urgent as to justify exceptional or legislative action, the universal

verdict of those not immediately connected with banking business is unquestionably in favour of the maintenance of larger gold reserves. In some quarters, however, there is a tendency to draw a distinction between what is termed a 'national reserve,' that is, a reserve available for the purposes of international exchange, and a banking reserve, that is, a reserve to be held by bankers against their own liabilities to their depositors. And the joint-stock banks naturally contend that the burden of maintaining the large store of gold which would constitute the national reserve should be shared by the State. But there is no more reason to call upon the State to maintain a large gold reserve in order to make credit cheap and uniform than there is to call upon it to provide a cheap and adequate supply of any other commodity. There are, however, certain circumstances which render it difficult to dissociate the State from all responsibility in connexion with the question of gold reserves. In the first place the State must maintain the convertibility of the note circulation of the Bank of England. The position of the fiduciary issue cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory. Notes have been issued to the extent of 18,450,000*l.*, for which no gold is held by the Bank. There is in ordinary times no likelihood that all the notes issued by the Bank will be presented simultaneously to be exchanged for gold; but still it cannot be questioned that this fiduciary issue constitutes one of the weakest spots in our currency system. The State's share of the profits derived from the uncovered note circulation amounts to about 190,000*l.* per annum, and the legitimacy of the State's policy of treating this as profit may be seriously questioned.

Sir Robert Giffen has recently directed attention to another important matter in connexion with which the State is closely concerned, as to the maintenance of larger gold reserves. This country has no war chest such as is possessed by certain of the other great Powers. Sir Robert Giffen fears that, in the unfortunate contingency of a great European war in which this country might happen to be directly involved, there would be a breakdown of the entire credit system, and this would be followed by unprecedented calamities and dangers. It would, however, hardly be a reasonable policy for the

bankers of this country to conduct their business in times of peace on a war basis; and Sir Robert Giffen realises that no preparation which could be made would be adequate to prevent the indescribable financial disturbance which would follow the outbreak of a great war. At the same time, as he rightly points out, it is the duty of the State to take such measures as are practicable to provide that in such a contingency the financial disturbance shall be as small as possible; and for this reason he claims that the State should take a share of the burden of keeping larger reserves of gold at the Bank of England. He makes the ingenious suggestion that the State should apply the profits which it derives from the uncovered note circulation to this purpose, and this suggestion is an equitable and a practicable one.

Then there is a clear obligation laid upon the Government with regard to the provision of adequate cash reserves in connexion with the Post Office Savings Banks which it shows no great anxiety to fulfil. In reply to certain questions recently addressed to him, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that the total amount due to depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks at the end of 1907 was estimated at 157,518,000*l.* The amount of consols held on account of the fund at December 31, 1907, was 59,072,319*l.* The cost price on balance of this stock works out at 103*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* per cent. The deficiency in the income account of the fund for the year ended December 31, 1907, was estimated to amount to 88,190*l.*

The total amount due to depositors in the Trustee Savings Banks at the same date was estimated at something over 52,000,000*l.* The amount of consols held on account of the Trustee Savings Banks fund at December 20, 1907, was 17,347,487*l.* The cost price on balance of this stock works out at 94*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The deficiency in the income account of the fund for the year ended November 20, amounted to 7328*l.*

On the whole the State has little reason to congratulate itself upon the position of its own banking business. It will be observed that, at the present market price of consols (88 per cent.), there is a serious deficiency on capital account in respect of this investment alone; and no doubt a further large deficiency would be revealed if the relative figures were furnished with regard to the

other investments of the savings banks. Until the year 1904 it was the practice to make an annual valuation of the assets of the savings banks funds on the basis of the current market price of securities. When the assets, according to this valuation, were less than the liabilities, the amount of the deficiency was included among the contingent or indirect liabilities of the State, and shown in the annual return of the national debt. On the recommendation of the Select Committee on the savings banks funds a change of law was made and the Savings Bank Act, 1904, directed the discontinuance of that method of valuation. This is a somewhat unsatisfactory position; and it would be a rather anomalous proceeding for the Government to bring pressure to bear upon the banking companies of the United Kingdom to disclose their daily transactions and position, while at the same time withholding even an annual statement of the position of the savings banks. Those who allow the savings banks to hold practically no reserve gold are in a weak position for preaching to others. Of course the conditions appertaining to Post Office Savings-bank business are quite different from those relating to commercial banking; these banks have behind them the credit of the United Kingdom; at the same time this does not imply that the possession of a cash reserve is unnecessary, and there is a strong case for the application of more businesslike methods in the conduct of the affairs of savings banks. The position of the Trustee Savings Banks is different again, because their depositors have not the assurance of a national guarantee.

But on the whole there is very good ground for the contention that the bulk of the cost of maintaining the additional gold reserves necessary should fall, in the first instance, upon the joint-stock banks. They are the custodians of the loanable capital of the country, and they derive their not inconsiderable profits from the re-lending of these deposits. It may therefore fairly be claimed that they should keep in hand, in gold, such a proportion of their deposits as will place them in a sufficiently strong position to obviate the necessity of their having to sacrifice the interests of their clients by cutting off credit or making it very costly in the sudden effort to obtain gold. Moreover, it may be safely assumed that in the long run the

banks will be able to adjust their charges in such a manner that the depositors and the borrowers of the banks will bear their fair share of the burden.

The simplest and most practicable method by which the banking business of the country can be placed upon a satisfactory footing is (1) for the joint-stock banks to increase their deposits with the Bank of England, and (2) for the joint-stock banks to increase the stock of gold in their own vaults. The Bank of England holds what may be termed the national reserve, and if that reserve could be permanently and appreciably augmented it is not unreasonable to assume that the likelihood of credit becoming suddenly extremely costly would be to a large extent removed. The stock of gold held in the vaults of the joint-stock banks is slowly increasing, but it cannot be said that it bears a satisfactory ratio to the deposits. These banks cannot be expected permanently to increase their deposits with the Bank of England unless they have some reasonable assurance that the increased deposits will be retained by the Bank of England and not used in competition with them.

It is almost impossible to lay down any rules as to what proportion of their deposits the banks should retain in cash. The proportion which might be safe for certain banks under certain conditions might be quite unsafe for other banks under other conditions. The banks vary much in the relative amounts of current and deposit money they hold. With some institutions the proportion of current accounts to deposit accounts is perhaps three or four to one, and in others the proportions are nearly equal. It is obvious that a percentage which constitutes a satisfactory cash reserve for a bank holding most of its liabilities on active current account would be an excessive proportion in the case of a bank the bulk of whose liabilities consisted of deposit money. The London banks are daily engaged in foreign monetary transactions which involve a liability to sudden demands for gold on a very large scale, and consequently it will be found that the London banks keep in hand a much larger proportion of cash or Government securities than the country banks. Moreover, if a minimum percentage of cash to be held was fixed by statute, that minimum could not be reduced in times of great monetary stringency, and we

should simply reproduce some of the defects which have lately been revealed in the constitution of the national banks of America. The proportion of gold to be held must be left to the individual banks and to the pressure of public opinion. Any attempt to fix the ratio by statute cannot be too strongly deprecated. There are, fortunately, other and less objectionable influences by means of which the banking reserves can be sufficiently strengthened.

Of the many schemes submitted during the past three years for increasing the stock of gold, the two most practicable and effective suggestions are (1) that the banks should be compelled, by statute if necessary, to publish monthly statements showing the average deposits and cash reserves, etc., and (2) that the banks should arrive at a general agreement amongst themselves that any future additions to their shareholders' reserve funds should be made in the form of gold coin or bullion.*

With regard to the first suggestion, namely, that the banks should be required to publish each month a statement showing the average amount of cash deposits, etc., the opinion is widely held that this course would result in a large addition being made to the stock of gold held by the banks, and it would have the further great advantage that it would render the so-called 'window-dressing' impossible. The existing arrangement with regard to the publication of balance-sheets by the banks of the United Kingdom is unsatisfactory. Sixteen years ago twelve of the leading London banks decided to publish monthly statements of their position on a certain day, and one bank, the London and County, has recently decided to give the daily average of its holding of cash. All the banks publish annual or half-yearly statements of their position on a certain day, usually the end of December or the end of June. The pressure for money that exists at these periods of the year is largely attributable to the calling in of cash for the purpose of making the figures, as to the cash resources, as favourable to the banks as possible. If the banks were obliged to furnish statements based on weekly averages this practice, which

* This proposal was first made in the 'Economist.'

is wholly unworthy of the tradition of English banking, would be rendered impracticable.

It cannot be questioned that many bankers of experience, both in London and the provinces, are quite opposed to the publication of their daily averages upon the ground that it would not produce the advantages to the public which its proposers claim, but that, on the contrary, it would prove a public misfortune. It is asserted that the publication of these figures has induced the banks named to curtail the employment of their floating and loose balances, and to show at the end of the month a larger reserve of cash than they formerly held (this is not borne out by the average figures published by the London and County Bank). This increase of reserves, it is further maintained, is not made available even to the bankers themselves by the very fact of publication, because the average figures must be upheld even if pressure comes. There is a good deal of truth in this argument, but the advantages of publication seem decidedly to outweigh the disadvantages.

In any case, the desirability of a more general and more adequate statement of the daily transactions of our banks cannot be questioned. Why, it may be asked, do the banks publish a statement of their position at all? It is because they feel the necessity of furnishing the public with an exact statement of their business. But if the process which is termed 'window dressing' is practised to any appreciable extent—and the financial stringency which is always experienced about the time when the banks are preparing their figures for publication rather confirms the view that it is widely practised—it cannot be claimed that the annual and half-yearly balance-sheets now submitted are correct statements of the business carried on by the banks. The very fact that there is such a strong feeling of opposition to the publication of monthly statements based on the daily averages is the most convincing evidence which could be adduced as to the accuracy of the charges of 'window dressing.'

Uniformity in the method of drawing up statements or balance-sheets is also a pressing necessity. It should be clearly understood that 'cash' means gold and Bank of England notes. The greatest differences are noticeable in the form in which balance-sheets are prepared.

The item 'cash at call and at short notice' is subject to remarkable variations. Some banks enter securities such as consols under these heads. The amounts held with the Bank of England and the notes and specie in hand should be stated separately, and it is also desirable that the amounts held on deposit and current accounts should be entered separately.

It may be hoped that the banks will have the good sense to act on their own initiative in the matter of furnishing monthly statements, and that they will not wait for pressure from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is obviously a matter which cannot be undertaken without fair notice. Estimates have been made that if all the banks were to retain a stock of gold bearing the same ratio to their deposits as do those of the twelve London banks which publish monthly statements, it would mean the withdrawal of perhaps 30,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.* from active occupation in commercial and financial transactions. For reasons already indicated, it is not practicable to suggest what ratio of cash the banks should hold, but it is easy to understand the extreme delicacy and difficulty of this question from the bankers' point of view.

The second immediately practicable method by which it may fairly be hoped that the banks' reserves of gold could be substantially strengthened is that all the banks should in future make additions to their so-called reserve funds and their depreciation funds, etc., in the form of gold, that is to say, that they should purchase for these funds gold instead of securities.

It has been pointed out in an earlier portion of this paper that during 1906 the joint-stock banks added the aggregate sum of about 1,130,000*l.* to their various reserve and depreciation funds, and the annual average sum so appropriated out of profits for the past five years works out at well over 1,000,000*l.* It will be seen, therefore, that in quite a reasonable time it would be possible for the banks in this way to accumulate substantial additions to their gold stocks, and indeed some of the banks have already adopted this plan on a small scale.

Of course such an arrangement has its drawbacks. The reserve funds of the banks have hitherto been generally treated as part of their working capital, and if future

additions to these funds are simply to take the form of bullion which is to be put away in the vaults of the banks concerned until a severe monetary crisis occurs, it is evident that there will not be that expansion in the amount of loanable capital which has obtained in past years. Again, from the banking companies' point of view, there is the important disadvantage that the portion of their shareholders' reserves invested in gold will not bring in any interest. The experience of past years points to the conclusion, however, that this will not involve any great hardship, for if all the additions made to the reserve funds of the various banks during the past decade had been invested in the purchase of gold instead of securities, the banks would not have had to provide such large sums for depreciation as they have lately had to find. In the case of one of our leading joint-stock banks, the chairman recently announced that they had written down their investments by 1,200,000*l.* since 1899, a sum which represents nearly 4 per cent. per annum on the amount of their reserve funds during that period.

Higher gold reserves cannot be obtained without some sacrifices being made; and, on the whole, there is reason to believe that the mercantile community would derive greater advantages from the assurance of a moderate supply of credit at rates which are not likely to fluctuate violently or suddenly than they obtain under the present system, which involves the possibility of credit becoming suddenly very costly. The business of the country is conducted so largely upon borrowed money and upon such a narrow margin of profit that uniformity in the cost of credit is almost as vital to the commercial community as the volume of the supply.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

Art. XIII.—THE HEROIC IDEAL OF THE FRENCH EPIC.

1. *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*. By Gaston Paris. First edition. Paris: Franck, 1865.
2. *Les Épopées françaises*. By Léon Gautier. Seconde édition. Four vols. Paris: Société Catholique, 1878-1894.
3. *Le Origini dell' Epopea francese*. By Pio Rajna. Firenze: Sansoni, 1884.
4. *Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens*. By Godefroi Kurth. Paris, 1893.
5. *Epic and Romance*. By W. P. Ker. London: Macmillan, 1895.

THE books whose titles stand above may be said to represent the most important work that has been done on the medieval French epic. A complete bibliography of the subject would contain many hundred titles of books and of special articles by French, German, and Italian scholars who have devoted themselves to the subject since 1820. These scholars, however, have been occupied with the question of origins, and with the critical analysis of the texts and variants, rather than with the literary and social interest of these old poems dealing with 'reges et proelia.' Even in France, where acquaintance with medieval literature is still an affair of the savants, Léon Gautier and Gaston Paris alone have felt any concern to interpret the noble epic message of their ancestors for Frenchmen of to-day.

If this ignorance of the French national epic may properly be made a reproach to France, it is needless to say that to even the cultured man in England and America the old French poems are practically unknown. There are reasons for this. To read the language of these poems requires, of course, a special training; further, many of the texts are rare and accessible only in large libraries; and finally, the Breton romances of adventure, in their Old French form, have absorbed all the attention which our literary men have devoted to medieval French literature. We are not complaining that it should be the case; but the fact remains that in popularity Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table have definitely triumphed

over Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers. With the exception of the 'Song of Roland,' the poems themselves have not been translated, nor has their message been interpreted to the modern world. To all but the scholar an enormous collection of documents bearing upon the evolution of modern ideals has thus remained sealed.

It is time, then, for a statement of the value of the French epic. One might have hoped to find such a statement developed in Professor W. P. Ker's admirable volume of studies entitled 'Epic and Romance.' One might wish that in a study begun upon such broad lines the author had not devoted so much space to the *sagas*—which, as he concludes, 'have had no influence'—at the expense of the *chansons de geste*, which 'belong to the history of those great schools of literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from which all modern imaginations in prose and rhyme are descended.' But though the *chansons de geste* were contemporary with the twelfth century school of romantic poetry in France, they have no logical connexion with it, nor have they had any share in the popularity accorded to medieval romantic poetry by the nineteenth century. The fact is that the value of the so-called French epic is rather historical than literary. Hence, while modern critics have rightly searched the contemporary romances of adventure for the origins of the modern novel, the historical epic poems have been comparatively neglected. On the other hand, the historian of the period in question delves among the Latin charters and chronicles of the time rather than in the popular literature in the vulgar tongue. Upon the whole, the French epic may be said to have fallen between two stools; it has been neglected by the historians of society even more than by the historians of literature. Its message has not been sought for nor discovered. In common with other remains of medieval literature in the vulgar tongues, the French epic has been staked out as the private domain of the philologists.

In these days of ancestral research it is fitting to pay our tardy respects to our French ancestors, and to see what messages of enduring import they have left to us from the days of feudal struggle and strife. Can we, by searching, find some modern note in these old poems which will bring us and them into sympathetic touch?

Some three or four score French epic poems have been preserved in a complete form, to which must be added a score or two of fragmentary or mutilated poems which have not yet been published. The complete poems embrace from two thousand to ten thousand verses, of ten or twelve syllables each, arranged in assonance. As their name implies, they are songs of deeds—*chansons de geste*. They pretend to be historical accounts of national and feudal events which happened during the reigns of Charlemagne and of his immediate successors. Following Gaston Paris, we may sufficiently characterise their historical reliability by calling them 'poetical history.' As a matter of fact, we have no specimens of the primitive French epic, founded as it must have been upon heroic ballads sung by the contemporaries of the Carolingian monarchs. The 'Song of Roland,' dating from the eleventh century, is universally held to be the earliest and worthiest example extant of what the French national epic must have sometime been. Even the 'Roland' is visibly modernised to suit the naïve taste of the eleventh century. Composed during a period which, of all others before the Renaissance, was pregnant with political, social, and literary changes, it is not strange that the later poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries should reflect in some degree the momentous evolution of the times. For to say that there is no difference in spirit between a version of the eleventh and a version of the thirteenth century would be untrue. Yet the French epic was a conservative *genre*, and always remained faithful to the traditional material. It was corrupted, but never assimilated, by the more frivolous *matière de Bretagne*—the poetic tissue of that seductive young Celtic muse who so quickly captivated the new chivalry of France. The popular poets, these anonymous *trouvères*, who cast the poems in their present shape, have in reality left us a picture of the humanity and the ideals of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. They never weary of proclaiming that their stories are true, reproaching certain of their contemporaries who delight in romances of adventure which are fantastic and false. Their claim of veracity is justified by their works, but not in the sense they intended. They affected to believe that they were telling the truth about Charlemagne and

his great vassals whom they had not seen; in reality, they have left us, all unconsciously, the true reflection of the spirit of their own times which they had seen.

Nowhere, then, better than in the *chansons de geste* can we find a vast body of material wherein to study the medieval standards and ideals of what Montaigne has called the 'average man.' Our hero is the average man of the earlier crusades, a contemporary of those Normans who were carrying into England the best features of European civilisation.

When a student of the French epic considers what is most worth saying concerning the vast quantity of material to which reference has been made, he must reject several methods of treatment. Our subject must be carefully defined. We want to get at the *spirit* of these poems. We must, then, leave out of consideration their literary value, the question of their authorship, their philological value, and their historical accuracy as chronicles of the events which they pretend to narrate. So much, at the outset, is beside our present purpose. The material is thus greatly circumscribed. Even so, sufficient documentary proof remains to establish our ethical connexion with our Norman ancestors in the twelfth century, the moment when medieval civilisation reached its highest point. Our purpose is to show that the *chansons de geste* of seven centuries ago give expression to the ethical standards of conduct under which we live to-day; that the Frenchman of the early twelfth century, more nearly than any other epic character, foreshadows in his fundamental traits the Christian gentleman of our own day.

In the first place, the characters in the *chansons de geste* are all human beings, men and women of flesh and blood like ourselves, tried by the same temptations, and victorious over sin through the same faith. From the standpoint of human interest this fact is of vast importance. In the French epic there are no gods, no spirits, no fairies, no monsters, no unhuman *dramatis personæ* of any kind. This means that, unlike the Homeric poems, the French epic presents no complicated aristocracy of immortals who take sides and hasten to the aid of their human favourites with unsportsmanlike participation in the fray. Surely the god of Charlemagne could have stepped in and saved Roland at Roncesvalles and Vivien

at Aliscans against the pagan hosts of Mahom. But there is no *deus ex machina* here. Events take their course. First treachery, then carelessness and foolhardiness have their inevitable consequences. Roland is overwhelmed and dies gloriously—the great tragic death of medieval literature. So it is everywhere; the marvellous is practically eliminated. We do not recollect any case where deserved punishment is averted by divine interference. To be sure God is always felt to be on the side of Charlemagne and the French in the great religious strife with the Saracens; but, in the long run, defeat comes to the Christians quite as often as victory. The path to success is littered with failures in the epic as in man's daily experience. There is no monopoly of success, no subsidised divine aid which guarantees against the wages of sin and folly.

The essential humanity of the characters in the *chansons de geste* further differentiates all these poems from the contemporary romances of the Breton cycle and from the later Italian court epic. In the Italian court epic we are at once transported to a fairyland where anything is possible. An air of enchantment hangs over all the contestants. Personally, we have never been able to feel that it was quite fair. A hero who can disappear through the air when the fight becomes too hot, or who can anoint himself with some health-giving salve, is like the man with bullet-proof armour in modern warfare. He is interesting for a moment as a novelty, but one soon feels that he is not playing fair. The French epic hero has to stay on the ground and trust to his own good sword and horse. If his opponent is too much for him there is no fairy at his beck and call, no spiritualistic disappearance possible; he must commend his soul to God and die.

There is also a radical difference between the epic poems and the contemporary romances of adventure: the epic not only puts into play real men, but it shows them engaged in real work. They have not the leisure to search for such an illusive treasure as the Holy Grail, or to serve as professional agents for the suppression of cruelty and vice. They are far too busy to go on spiritual quests, to fight at tournaments, or to scour the lands and seas in search of adventure. The French

epic poems present a society at war, primarily against the Saracens, and secondarily, in the intervals of repose from this congenial task, at war against itself. One gets the impression from the *romans d'aventure* that, despite Arthur's vigilance, there was in certain quarters a good deal of leisure of a very unedifying sort. Happily the characters in the heroic poetry are kept busy, and thus avoid the effeminacy and corruption that one feels at times in the Knights of the Round Table. While the romances of adventure depict the age of chivalry in artificial and seductive colours, these poems are nevertheless effete, the conventional response to the literary taste of a refined aristocracy. We claim for our rugged epic poems a truth and vigour which leave them many faults, but which give them that earnestness and moral virility which cannot be taken from them. The life of these feudal heroes, so much nearer to the heart of the race than the irresponsible wanderings of the romantic *chevaliers*, appeals to us the more because it was a life of necessary action. Society is depicted in the epic poems as it was, not as it would like to be.

Something has been said of the humanity of the characters in the *chansons de geste* and of the human interest which is aroused by their activities. They are not supernatural heroes. Indeed, they are not, with rare exceptions, heroes at all. They are heroes, as are those of our own day, simply because they are men and have high ideals. We come now to the really essential trait which puts the French epic into a class by itself as a national epic: it is a *Christian* epic. These heroes of whom we have been speaking were all Christians, fighting in most cases for a purely religious cause and living under the dictates of an advanced system of Christian ethics. This fact at once distinguishes our poems not only from the Homeric poems, but from all those popular epics which are of pagan origin and inspiration. The medieval Christianity behind the French epic entails, to be sure, an absence of mythological personages, a lack of exotic flavour, of unhampered imagination, of mysterious charm, of literary finish and artistic perfection. All this is granted. But with the simple, rudely sketched medieval Christians of the French epic we recognise our relationship as with no other characters in all epic literature. They

lived under the same religious and ethical system as ourselves. They were neither gods nor saints, but average men with high ideals.

After comparing other forms of medieval French literature, one may affirm that the religion shadowed forth in the *chansons de geste* is the religion of the average crusader. A great quantity of the literature which has survived from the feudal age in the vulgar tongue is avowedly and, as it were, professionally religious; there are, for instance, the mysteries, the miracles, and the saints' lives. These are all didactic *genres*, written in most cases by clerks who held up an ideal of worldly self-sacrifice and asceticism which rarely could have been aimed at or attained by the average man. The *chansons de geste*, on the other hand, show us simply the sturdy faith of the Christian warrior, and narrate the works accomplished by that faith. It is our purpose to point out the salient features in the code of a medieval French warrior. We shall show the average warrior as he was before the refined subtleties of Provençal and chivalric poets had changed him into a knight engaged solely in woman service.

The foremost and most constant element of the hero's character is his *trust in God*. This trust is unwavering; it is availing under all circumstances; it invites to bold undertakings, and it comforts in adversity. A few quotations from the poems themselves will serve to show that the heroes had a working faith. When Aymeri offers to guard his city of Narbonne for Charles, the Emperor reminds him that he is poor and will need money. But Aymeri replies with a practical trust:

'Is not God above in His Heaven, who is powerful for ever without end? I believe in Him unfeignedly that He will aid me, and that right early.' ('Aymeri de Narbonne,' 762-765.)

When the hero, Gaydon, is about to engage in single battle with the traitor Thiebaut, Riolf comforts Gaydon with this assurance:

'I know of a truth that you will defeat Thiebaut because God and the right will be on your side.' ('Gaydon,' p. 28.)

Again, when Guibert is restored to his baptised Saracen bride, Agaiete, she betrays her natural anxiety for their

future. But Guibert comforts his solicitous spouse with the confident words :

'Lady, that is in God's hands.' ('Prise de Cordres,' 2529.)

More mystic is the faith of the thoroughly religious Naimon who, when hard pressed by the Saracens, assures his men :

'In Paradise the Lord God awaits us. I hear the angels, who are round about us and waiting for our souls.' ('Aquin,' 1573-1575.)

So at Roncesvalles, at the moment of the supreme struggle, the fighting Bishop Turpin blesses his men and tells them :

'If you die you will be holy martyrs and will have places in Paradise.' ('Roland,' 1134, 1135.)

French Thus, everywhere faith in the God of battles urges on the Christian warrior to do his best and die in the struggle. Yet there is no divine interposition, no infraction of natural laws. Without exception the French leaders are men of prayer. They pray, not in expectation of a miracle, but to voice the 'soul's sincere desire.' Not only in times of sorrow and heaviness, but in the flush and excitement of personal combat, the hero takes time to pray and to partake of Communion. These prayers and ceremonies of Communion are recorded with touching simplicity. They show how bound up was the hero's faith in a God who compassed him about and who was a very present help. To strive for this God, to fight in the defence of His righteous cause against the infidels, is the primary motive of the action in the majority of the *chansons de geste* which have been preserved. The French epic shows mankind believing in a personal God of infinite power, whose aid may be invoked in any righteous cause. For such a God the average warrior would cheerfully lay down his life. No other faith can account for such an unparalleled enterprise as the Crusades.

Next to his unwavering faith, the most notable trait of the feudal hero, as depicted in our poems, is his *loyalty*. This essentially feudal characteristic is the basis of dealings between men. Under the feudal régime loyalty was hardly a virtue; to keep faith was a

necessity. The moment that faith was broken between lord and vassal the chain of social and political relationship was interrupted. It was as if credit should cease in modern business methods. But it is of something more than an unsentimental conformity with a social *modus vivendi* that we are thinking. It is of a type of loyalty which was profoundly sentimental, and which was far too noble to be practised for revenue only. Indeed there is no more frequently recurring verse than this: 'A man finds out his friend in time of need.' The commonest form of loyalty was, of course, that shown by the warrior to his king or overlord. The 'Roland' is full of such expressions of unflinching loyalty. Just before the battle Roland says to Oliver:

'It is right for us to be here for our King's sake. For his lord a man ought to suffer distress, and endure great heat and cold, and, if need be, lose his skin and his hair.' ('Roland,' 1009-1012.)

The translation is literal, and the last detail leaves little doubt of the completeness of the self-sacrifice. Turpin more briefly states the same creed:

'My lords, Charles has left us here. For our King's sake we must die like men.' ('Roland,' 1127-1129.)

Upon another occasion Fierabras refuses to avoid danger with the assertion:

'He who forsakes his lord has no right to open his mouth. Because I see the French turning in flight, if I should do the same where then could any trust be placed? It is in times of stress that one can test his friend.' ('Fierabras,' pp. 7, 8.)

The whole code of personal loyalty between vassal and lord is most beautifully imaged forth by that grand old hero Guillaume d'Orange:

'Cursed be the tree planted in the vineyard which gives in summer no shade to its master.' ('Les Enfances Vivien,' 335, 336.)

The kind of loyalty which has just been described was probably the most natural expression of the trait to the medieval Frenchman because it was the key-stone of the system under which he lived. Treachery was the unpar-

donable sin of feudalism, to be wiped out only by death. But alongside of this political loyalty stood another, still more admirable and more modern in tone. It was loyalty between sworn friends—*compagnons* as they were called in the language of the period. This comradeship was a voluntary relation, into which two men entered. Such relationship is not without precedent in classic literature; but here we find it hallowed by the bonds of Christian brotherhood. Roland and Oliver are, of course, the names which will occur to every one in this connexion. But there are other examples of this voluntary and utterly uncalled-for fraternity. We intentionally choose the most extraordinary instance of this brotherly love between friends with which we are familiar. In the poem of 'Amis et Amiles' Amile discovers that only by a bath in the blood of his own two sons can his friend Ami be cured of the dire disease with which he is smitten. He instinctively recoils from resorting to such a remedy. It is the heart-breaking sacrifice of a father's love to the duty of friendship. Amile consents, in these words of unwavering steadfastness, to perform his duty toward his friend:

'In order that you may gain your health I would do anything, I say it without reserve. For it is in time of need that one can test who is his friend and who it is that really loves him.' ('Amis et Amiles,' 2854-2857.)

It is a pleasure to find the editor of the poem in accord with our conviction that 'the moral of the story is that loyalty between friends, even to the sacrifice of one's own life, is well pleasing to God.' Note that there is no asceticism or romance in this sacrifice. Saints and martyrs are common enough in medieval literature who are willing to lose their own life here below in order to find again their own life in a better world; and knights a-plenty there are of those of the Round Table who will risk their life for a lorn lady in distress or for the more futile bauble of victory in a tourney. But here we are dealing with an average father, who surrenders his own sons to heal a friend. No further insistence upon the medieval conception of heroism is necessary. It begins to appear that the medieval Frenchman not only knew what was an availing faith in God; he had also a very

clear conception of a fundamental relationship in modern society—'friendship, the master-passion.'

No more incumbent upon the hero is it to possess faith and practise loyalty than to preserve his own fair name untarnished. Here we touch upon the great medieval sentiment of personal honour. It is not a peculiarly Christian sentiment, nor is it exclusively manifested in French literature. It was common to European chivalry, and has been handed down to us in its essential traits as a precious heritage from our medieval ancestors. A study of medieval literature leads us to suppose that 'honour' was writ large as the first article in the medieval code of ethics. It was the first sentiment to be instilled in the heart of the young warrior by the society which surrounded him. All his later education and experiences only deepened the conviction that all could pardonably be lost save honour. When we remember that to many men of our own day honour is their only religion, it is worth while to enquire the value which the Middle Age put upon a sentiment which was destined to play such a part in safeguarding modern institutions. We may find that there was a little too much conceit, a little too much pride in this jealousy of honour; but we must admit that the influence was thoroughly wholesome in a time of great license, and that the medieval cult of honour made possible the modern gentleman.

To guard one's honour evidently meant originally to keep one's reputation unspotted from the charge of cowardice. To be brave was the prime virtue in an age when fighting was a business. To be pointed at as a coward was the greatest humiliation man could receive. Better die a thousand times than survive to be ridiculed in mocking verse as a coward. That this solicitude for reputation was a potent incentive to physical and moral courage will be made evident by the following passages. Roland, speaking with Oliver just before the battle, reminds him :

'Now let each see to it that he deal valiant blows, so that no mocking song may be sung about him. The Pagans are in the wrong and the Christians are in the right. A bad example shall never be given by me.' ('Roland,' 1013-1016.)

When urged to sound his horn, the same Roland refuses :

'God grant that my family may never be ashamed for me, and that fair France may never fall into opprobrium.' ('Roland,' 1062-1064.)

Still more vigorous is the declaration of one who rises from a bed of sickness to fight :

'I should rather eat my precious steed than that any evil counsel should proceed from my mouth.' ('Garin le Loherain,' i, 279.)

We may note, finally, the defiance hurled back from the walls by a proud vassal who has been summoned to surrender his castle :

'In vain you address me. For if I had one foot in Paradise and the other in my castle of Naisil, I would draw back the foot from Paradise and fix it in the castle of Naisil.' ('Garin de Loherain,' i, 232.)

There was and there is nothing more appealing than bravery. Doubtless it has always been a quality which found favour in men's eyes. In our day we place moral courage above physical bravery because we are seldom called upon to defend our position by force of arms. The great victories nowadays are the moral victories. But in the Middle Age the common method of maintaining one's rights, whether moral or physical, was an appeal to arms. Hence physical bravery was a necessity. In that society a fight was the recognised sequel to an infringement of right. The next best thing to winning was to die bravely. Arbitration had no place. Consequently vengeance and retribution followed close upon insult and injury. Frightful cruelty followed as the instrument of vengeance, as always in more primitive societies, showing us that the charity which 'suffereth long and is kind' was an unknown virtue to the average man. Love to all men will perhaps be the last lesson in the Christian code to be learned by poor humanity.

We have now a sufficient outline of the character of a medieval French warrior. We have seen that he had a practical faith, that he was loyal to his friends, and that he was a jealous guardian of his personal and family honour. The traits we have noticed do very well for a

fighting man, fighting in the defence of a just cause. But perhaps it will seem that the portrait is incomplete. Was there nothing but fighting in the life of an average man? We should like to know what our hero would do under other circumstances. Without indulging in a lengthy exposition it is possible to fill in some of the missing details by reference to the later *chansons de geste*. Here, as has been said before, we shall find that our hero has been somewhat affected by the growing popularity in literature of knight-errantry and woman service. He is more elegant, refined, and self-conscious. But his business is still the same as of old—fighting the enemies of his God and all traitors. Herein lies the inefaceable distinction between the epic hero and the adventurous chevalier: the former fought because he had to do so, and because it was his business; the latter fought occasionally, for pleasure, because no gentleman's reputation was good otherwise. The chevalier was a dilettante, fighting at tournaments for prizes; the epic hero fought to defend his country, his family, or his God. However, we shall see now how the later poems reflect the refinement that passed into feudal society in the twelfth century.

Upon the departure of a young warrior from his father's house it was customary for his parents to give him some sage directions for his guidance in the larger world into which he was about to enter. These pieces of advice were called *chastiements* or *enseignements*, and contain the details we need to complete our conception of the social code of a gentleman. The instructions given to Laertes by Polonius in 'Hamlet,' I, iii, are a medieval survival, and offer an interesting parallel with the following *enseignements*. In a late poem the mother of Huon de Bordeaux dismisses him and his brother with this counsel:

'My boys, you are going to court. I beg that you will give no heed to wicked flatterers. Make friends with the best men. Remember to go to church and to show reverence and honour for the clergy. Give gladly to the poor. Be courteous and generous. So shall you be loved and held the more dear.' ('Huon de Bordeaux,' p. 18.)

More detailed is this extract from the advice given to young Aiol by his father:

'My son, don't play chess or checkers. . . . Don't make love to another man's wife, for that is a sin displeasing to God; if she loves you, let her alone. And take good care not to get drunk, for know well that drunkenness is vile. If you see an honest man, serve him, and get up if you are sitting down. Honour all men, the small as well as the great. See to it that you mock no poor man, for in doing so you would lose rather than gain.' ('Aiol,' p. 165 f.)

Continuing, the father bids his son avoid traitors, to eat plenty but not to drink too much, to care well for his horse, and commends him thus into God's keeping.

When his father dismisses Doon de Maience upon a certain occasion he gives him three pages of practical suggestions for his guidance.

'Ask your way always of honest people, but don't trust a stranger. Every day go to Mass and give to the poor all you have, for God will return it twofold. Be open-handed with all men, for the more you give the more honour you will acquire and the richer you will become. . . . Salute every one whom you meet, and if you owe anything you must pay it willingly. . . . My son, do not mix in your neighbour's business, nor quarrel with him in the presence of others, for if he knows anything against you he will tell it, and some will hear it who will put you to shame. . . . Honour all the clergy and speak to them politely; but let them get as little as possible of your money; for the more they get of it the more ridiculed you will be. . . . And if you wish to save your honour, do not become involved in something about which you know nothing, nor pretend to be master of a subject before you have learned it. And if you have a servant, don't let him sit beside you at table. . . . And when you have something which you wish to keep secret, be sure and do not tell it to your wife, if you have one. For if she knows it, you will repent of what you have done the very first time you displease her about anything. . . . Above all else, remember this.' ('Doon de Maience,' pp. 73-76.)

It will be noted that these details fit in fairly well with the character that has been outlined in the preceding pages. There are no glaring inconsistencies. The details just quoted show that our hero was unromantic, that he knew how to take care of himself, and had a working code of ethics for his government in even the most commonplace situations.

It is time to review the results gained by this method of examination. It is a suggestive method to apply to any mass of popular literature, but especially so when the material concerned is the popular and naïve expression of a society of which we are undeniably the heirs. It is further appropriate to study the ideals of the *dramatis personæ* in the *chansons de geste*, because these poems delighted for more than two centuries, in their present form, a people who were the leaders in medieval civilisation. To this people our debt is incalculable.

The literary influence of the *chansons de geste* is negligible. They have left no direct literary inheritance. The material which they treated has not reappeared in modern dress. They were at first influenced, and then superseded, by the romances of adventure. Like the society which they delighted, they ceased to exist about 1300. Dealing exclusively with events, they are realistic, and hence not suited to such a spiritual treatment as has been happily accorded in our own day to the French romances of adventure at the hands of Tennyson. Instead of imagination and of artistic finish, they offer us the unflattered portrait of the medieval average man—a man without the frills of a later and more corrupt society, but a good man and true withal. Men of the type of Roland, Oliver, Naimon, Guillaume, Vivien, and Ogier are men of the right stripe. Because of their high-mindedness they would be an ornament to any age. Their characteristic traits are not hard to outline, for their vices, like their virtues, were deep-dyed. Above all, they were men of principle, such as would be quick in our day to fight the battle of righteousness. They were faithful allies and uncompromising opponents. The French epic poems bear abundant testimony to the statement that, for the type of Christian gentleman who quits himself with honour in the stress of life, we must seek the literary origins in the twelfth century.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT.

Art. XIV.—TEMPERANCE, JUSTICE, AND THE LICENSING BILL.

1. *A Bill to Amend the Licensing Acts, 1828-1906.*
2. *Licensing Act, 1904.*
3. *Licensing Statistics, 1905, 1906, 1907.*
4. *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.*
5. *Alcohol: its Place and Power in Legislation.* By Robinson Souttar, M.A., D.C.L. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
6. *Drink, Temperance, and Legislation.* By Arthur Shadwell, M.D. London: Longmans, 1902.
7. *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.* By J. Rowntree and A. Sherwell. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.
8. *The Taxation of the Liquor Trade.* By J. Rowntree and A. Sherwell. London: Macmillan, 1906.
9. *The Drink Problem.* Edited by T. N. Kelynack, M.D. London: Methuen, 1907.
10. *Licensing and Temperance in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.* By Edwin A. Pratt. London: Murray, 1907.

PROPOSALS for drastic interference with the trade in alcoholic liquor have once more been brought before the Legislature of this country and have promptly produced a tremendous hubbub. The market-place is filled with cries pitched in many keys, cries of delight, disappointment, expostulation, dismay, and defiance. They come from many quarters—from politicians, parsons, publicans, 'reformers,' brewers, workmen, investors, lawyers, financiers, economists, and publicists. And we may expect the turmoil to go on and gather strength for months. It is the first and inevitable result of the Licensing Bill of 1908. The Government must have expected something of the kind, though they evidently miscalculated the extent and character of the commotion certain to be caused by this latest attempt to 'solve the drink problem' by legislation. They evidently underestimate or misunderstand it still. It is a way that Governments have, although the past is strewn with warnings. Experience shows that in this country no object of legislative activity is beset by so many difficulties and fraught

with so much danger to our administration as the liquor traffic, with the sole exception of religion, as some astute statesman—Disraeli, was it not?—once observed. The reason is not any collusion or alliance between the two—that gibe has been worn threadbare by silly-clever scoffers—but the fact that both are intimately associated with the lives of the people at large; you cannot touch either without touching the daily habits or the cherished convictions of an unknown multitude, which is silent, passive, and therefore overlooked so long as it is let alone, but intensely conservative and passionately attached to personal freedom in maintaining the customs, sanctioned by law and hallowed by tradition, which are bound up with its daily thoughts and acts. Reformers who touch these things rudely with the heavy hand of legal compulsion do not know what they are doing. And of the two the liquor traffic is the more dangerous to touch, because religion is split up into creeds and sects which can watch with something more than equanimity each other's discomfiture, and have as yet no common enemy powerful enough to unite them; whereas the beer-jug has no grudge against the wine-cup, nor does the whisky drinker seek to humiliate his brother of the brandy bottle; and they have a powerful common enemy who never rests in the effort to sweep them all into oblivion.

To ascribe the commotion caused by a sweeping Bill like the present solely to the machinations of 'the trade,' as its supporters do, indicates inability to observe or interpret the actual conditions. The trade is, of course, wicked enough to defend itself when attacked, like the Church or the Nonconformist conscience, and it is powerful enough to defend itself with effect; but it is only powerful because it is a legitimate trade, which has grown great under the sanction of the law and with the consent of the community, by supplying the people with something that they want. That is the point; and really it is time for politicians and reformers to understand what it means. A trade which is the spontaneous growth of centuries in a free country, specifically recognised by the law and fostered by the natural play of supply and demand into a great economic and social entity, cannot be suddenly overthrown or seriously injured without a

very great commotion ; not because it resists, but because it is rooted in the habits of the people and has run out a network of innumerable connecting fibres, social and economic, which penetrate the whole organism of our corporate life. They are so intertwined with others that they cannot be torn away without a general disturbance. These are matters of fact ; they have nothing to do with the desirability or undesirability of the trade, which is a matter of opinion ; but they have everything to do with practical problems of dealing with it. They are implicitly recognised by temperance reformers, who want to abolish the trade precisely because it is bound up with the habits of the people and is a great economic entity. What reformers do not understand is that a thing occupying that position cannot be successfully treated with a high hand merely because some people think it undesirable. The habits of the people cannot be suddenly changed by compulsory means ; no power exists that can do it. They can be voluntarily changed, and suddenly, by a wave of emotion, but that does not last ; even a voluntary change, if it is to be permanent, must be gradual. Violence merely arouses resistance. It is equally impossible to destroy a large factor in the existing economic fabric without shaking the rest and exciting general alarm and opposition.*

Now the present Licensing Bill aims at doing both these things. Its ostensible end is to change the habits of the people, and the means whereby it seeks to accomplish that end is a revolutionary change in the constitution and conduct of the liquor trade. It has therefore two aspects—a moral, or social, and an economic one. We will examine them both.

The evils attending the consumption of alcoholic liquor have been recognised ever since the sons of Noah were ashamed of their father, and attempts to check them are as old as literature or history or tradition. They have never met with positive and general success, save when imposed as religious ordinances in warm countries. Montesquieu has a chapter on the latter point

* The Peckham election is still ludicrously misinterpreted. The public are neither the slaves nor the dupes of the publican, nor do they love him more than other tradesmen. It is not interference with him, but interference with themselves that they resent.

in the 'Esprit des Lois,' which still holds good. He draws attention to the difference between *ivrognerie de nation* and *ivrognerie de la personne*, and points out that it is mainly a matter of climate.

'Ce sont les différents besoins dans les différents climats qui ont formé les différentes manières de vivre, et ces différentes manières de vivre ont formé les diverses sortes de loi.'

The broad truth of these observations is incontestable. There are drinking countries and sober countries, and the most constant conditions accompanying this difference are climatic. Even in the same country the habits of the people differ widely between north and south. Climate is not the only factor, and its influence is often modified by others, but it is a fundamental one and always operative in some degree. A 'scientific' study of alcoholism should begin with it, though the 'fourteen medical authorities' who have composed the volume entitled 'The Drink Problem' have not thought it worth their attention. It explains the success of the moral laws of Mahomet and Buddha in warm countries, and the comparative failure of the Christian law, which also enjoins sobriety, among the drinking peoples of northern Europe and North America, although it has called to its aid many other agencies, including the secular law. Implicit faith in the efficacy of the latter is still held by many people with a touching confidence, in spite of its world-wide and century-long failure. More legislative ingenuity has been expended on the practice of drinking than upon any other object whatever, except taxation. The most diverse methods of dealing with it, from absolute prohibition to absolute freedom, have been devised, advocated, and tried in different countries. Innumerable experiments have been made, and are still being made; and though the advocates of each method claim complete success for it, they have one and all failed to prove their case so as to secure any general and lasting conviction among the nations afflicted with this constitutional weakness. The result is that after centuries of experiment we see to-day each drinking nation with its own system or systems of legal control, all differing, none accepted elsewhere, none unchallenged in its own home, none thoroughly settled and stable, most undergoing frequent

change, all in a state of uncertainty and constant or recurrent agitation. The purveyors of patent remedies run up and down the market-place shouting their own and crying down each others' wares; and every now and then politicians, goaded by their importunity, take up one or other of them, while the public, stupefied by the clamour, looks on in puzzled and half-angry bewilderment.

We are just at one of those moments when the politicians, goaded by the importunity of the noisiest groups of reformers, have taken up their remedy and offered it to a puzzled and mostly indifferent public, which has begun to scrutinise it, and is rather startled as the nature of the thing and its probable effects are revealed. What sort of a measure is this? What is it likely to do for temperance? and what else will it do?

We do not lack experience by which to judge it in this country. Attempts to check excessive drinking go back as far as the earliest records that we possess, subsequent to the Roman occupation, and for 350 years a method of controlling the sale of drink by licensing has been continuously in force. It has undergone innumerable changes, great and small, but the broad underlying principle has been always the same. Under this system the sale of drink is permitted, but is confined, under the law, to persons and premises authorised by a duly constituted judicial authority. Permits are granted on certain conditions to private persons desiring to carry on the trade for their own profit. On the whole, that method of dealing with the question has recommended itself more widely and permanently than any other; it has been adopted, in some form or other, and with variations in detail, by more countries than any alternative method, such as sale by the State, or the municipality, or by private persons not trading for profit, or free sale by anybody, or total prohibition of sale, or local prohibition decided by vote. These are the principal alternative methods that have been tried in various forms, but none has been at all generally adopted, whereas some form of licensing prevails in most European countries, in most parts of North America, and generally in British dominions. It has not prevented a large consumption of liquor and a great deal of drunken-

ness in any of these countries, nor has any alternative method in any country where *ivrognerie de nation* prevails. Those who still cling to a belief in the Scandinavian system of 'disinterested management,' which has been the most extolled as a panacea, are recommended to read Mr Pratt's book on 'Licensing and Temperance in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.' It is the latest, and, in many respects, the most complete study of the subject, and the inclusion of Denmark makes it particularly instructive. Licensing exercises a certain degree of control by limiting the number of persons engaged in the trade, and imposing conditions under which they shall carry it on. Its efficacy depends upon the nature of the restrictions imposed, and upon the way in which the law is administered.

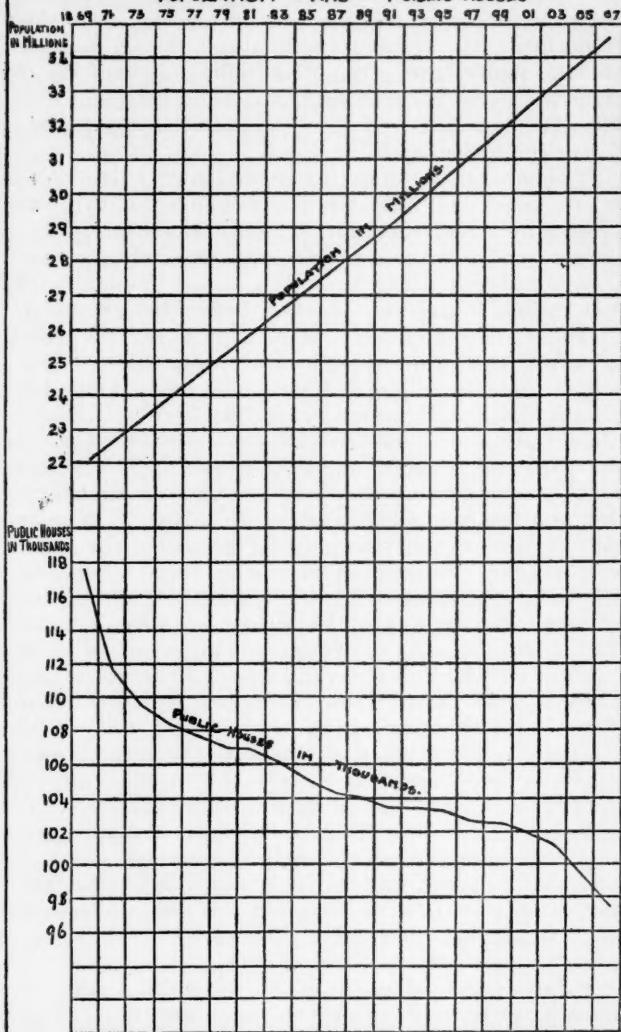
In this country both the law and its administration have undergone many changes and wide fluctuations, and these have been sometimes accompanied by well-marked effects, which give us a measure of what can be done by such agencies to influence drinking and some insight into the principles that govern their action. On a broad review two salient features emerge. These are the comparative success of moderate restriction and the failure of departure from it towards either extreme. Whenever the law or its administration has diverged suddenly towards laxity or severity, the evils arising from drink have patently increased. And that lesson of the mean between two extremes is reinforced by the experience of other countries with other systems, which have been examined by many investigators, but most comprehensively by Mr Rowntree and Mr Sherwell in 'The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.' What it means is that laws, to be effective, must bear a harmonious relation to the times; they must be in keeping, as Montesquieu pointed out, with external conditions, with the habits, thoughts, and desires of men. That does not mean stagnation, but the reverse, because all these things are constantly changing, little by little, and the law should keep pace with them. It does not cause such changes, it only reflects them, helps to establish them, and seconds their influence. Thus repressive laws act by bringing the recalcitrant few into line with the general standard. If too feeble or feebly administered they will fail to do so; if they overshoot the mark and offend against the general

sense of the community, the result is worse; evasion becomes general, the disorderly elements are encouraged, law is brought into contempt, and wide-spread demoralisation ensues. It follows that sudden and violent changes in the law are dangerous because other conditions never change suddenly, but only by degrees. The improvement in the habits of the people in regard to drinking, which is universally admitted to have taken place in recent years, is really due to a great number of gradual changes, material, social, intellectual, and moral, which affect the whole tone of the community and determine the public standard.

Set thus in the light of experience and reason, how does the present Bill appear? Apart from sundry minor provisions, its important features are: (1) a very large and immediate reduction of licenses on a fixed numerical scale, to be completed in fourteen years; (2) at the end of that time a total change in the system of licensing, which would deprive the remaining license holders of their property.

Since temperance is the ostensible object, and the Bill is described as a 'great temperance measure,' we will consider that aspect first. It seeks to promote temperance by a very large reduction of licenses, and without any doubt that is the provision which appeals to many of its supporters, and particularly to members of the Church of England Temperance Society, which has long advocated a numerical standard in proportion to population. Now limitation of numbers is one of the means of control properly exercised by a licensing system, and if there is reason to believe that the numbers are excessive they should be reduced. But it is to be observed, in the first place, that reduction has been going on steadily for a great many years. It began in 1870 and has continued ever since, so that this is the thirty-ninth year of the movement. During that period the population has increased by over 12,000,000, while the public-houses, that is, fully licensed houses and beer-houses licensed for consumption on the premises, have been reduced from 117,488 to 97,554. The proportion of licensed houses to population has thus fallen from 53·3 to 27·9 per 10,000, a reduction of nearly one-half. The statement will surprise some readers who have been taught to believe that public-houses were increasing, at

ENGLAND AND WALES POPULATION AND PUBLIC-HOUSES-



any rate down till 1904; for it is a deplorable feature of this question that temperance legislation is systematically promoted by the suppression and misrepresentation of the facts. To remove any doubt, it should be added that the figures are taken from official returns by the Inland Revenue department. The accompanying chart indicates graphically the movement of the population and the public-houses.

The chart shows that this reduction of public-houses has proceeded continuously, but not at a uniform rate. It began by a very rapid fall, which slackened after 1873, and then proceeded at a varying but generally slow pace, but again became accelerated towards the end. The acceleration, it may be observed, began before the Act of 1904. The mean rate of reduction for the whole period is 524 per annum. The movement has two great merits. After the first two or three years it has been gradual; and until recently it has been adjusted to circumstances and directed to checking disorder and improving the standard of public-houses by weeding out the ill-conducted and disorderly ones, which is precisely what the law can and ought to do. The rapid fall at first was due to the sweeping away, under the Act of 1869, of a large number of disorderly beer-houses which had accumulated as a legacy from the Act of 1830. Emphatic testimony to the great improvement thus effected was borne by the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1876. It is a natural consequence, and a proof of success, not of failure, that the pace of reduction should slacken with the elimination of the worst houses. But it did not really slacken so much as the returns show, because a new class of licenses was introduced in 1881, which are included in the figures, though they are not public-house licenses. That, however, is a minor point. The main thing is that the reduction was gradual and purposeful. And it was clearly as much as could be done with advantage in that direction, because, towards the end of the period, alternative channels of drink began to multiply rapidly in the shape of clubs.

A great deal of evidence about clubs, their rapid increase, the disorder caused by them, the trouble which they gave the police, and the difficulty of dealing with them, was presented to the Royal Commission of 1896.

For obvious reasons that section of temperance reformers to whom the abolition of the public-house is an end in itself has always been at pains to make light of the new factor introduced by the growth of clubs; and even those who recognise it and insist on control do not realise its full bearing on the problem. It is one more warning that what we are really dealing with is the habits of the people at large, which cannot be coerced or changed at will. They will always find an outlet, and if diverted from one channel will certainly find another. People recognise that clubs form a leak which must be stopped if further pressure is to be applied elsewhere; but they do not see that such a leak is a symptom, and that stopping it is a mere palliative which does not cure the case. There is room for an unlimited number of leaks, and as fast as one is stopped another may open. Moreover, leaks are more difficult to stop than regular outlets, and they are apt to get more and more difficult. An attempt was made to stop this one in 1902; it has failed; and the present Bill proposes to try again. But it is obvious that no regulations can prevent clubs from being formed, and so multiplying facilities for drinking. Nor can they be subjected to such strict control as public-houses. The same conditions as to hours, or doors, or arrangement of premises, or many other things, cannot be imposed. The attempt to do so would be a fatal experiment for any Government. Englishmen will have their privacy respected to some extent. So the new channel is much less amenable to control than the old; and, if too much compulsion were applied to it, others still less amenable would infallibly take its place. It is quite easy to devise them, and the possible modes are infinite. People who do not know that know neither human nature nor the British workman, and for them history has been written in vain.

Between 1887 and 1896 the number of clubs increased, so far as could be ascertained, from 1982 to 3655, representing an annual addition of 190 (returns made to Royal Commission). This is as much as the average diminution of public-houses during the same period. What then becomes of the numerical reduction of 'facilities'? There is evidently a mere exchange from more to less controlled facilities. But the warning passed quite unnoticed. Re-

formers clamoured for a much more rapid process of elimination, and sympathetic benches listened to them. A new ground for refusing to renew licenses came into vogue—that they are ‘superfluous.’ That word may be interpreted in different senses. If houses are superfluous, in the sense of being so numerous in any locality that the police cannot properly supervise them, or that excessive competition tempts or forces them to illegal practices in order to attract custom, those are tangible and logical grounds for reducing their number. It was on those grounds that the Royal Commission recommended a large reduction. But that is not the meaning now attached to ‘superfluous’ as commonly used. Nor does it mean that a house has no custom—which is the true test of superfluity; when that is the case it is generally surrendered. The word really means that somebody wants to diminish the number of public-houses and cannot find any other excuse. Since a good many people are in that position the idea caught on. But then the obstacle of fair-play or a sense of justice intervened. It seemed hard to deprive an innocent man of his livelihood or his property, and magistrates hesitated to do it. So, in order to help them, the principle of compensation was introduced in 1904.

The idea was that when a ‘superfluous’ house is suppressed the remaining ones in the neighbourhood get the benefit of its custom and so can afford to compensate the dispossessed owner or license-holder. This, it may be observed in passing, involves two tacit assumptions—one, that the house has a custom, and is not superfluous in that sense; the other, that its suppression will transfer the drinking done there to other houses in the neighbourhood. However, the object was to enable suppression to be carried on without hardship to individuals. The reduction of licenses has thereby been greatly increased. During the three years the Act has been in operation the net decrease has been :—

NET DIMINUTION OF LICENSED HOUSES.

1905.	1906.	1907.	Total.
—	—	—	—
584	1340	2010	3934

This represents a marked acceleration in the process of

reduction, and most of it is due to compensation. Out of a total number of 4111 old licenses either lapsed or refused renewal during the three years, 2805, or seven-tenths, were refused on grounds entitling to compensation; that is to say, they were not refused on the ground of ill-conduct, or unsuitability of premises or character, but solely on the new ground of superfluity. The step is of doubtful value; it has been accompanied by a renewed upward movement in clubs, in spite of the control instituted in 1903, which has caused a good many to be struck off the register. The net increases during the last three years have been 132, 186, and 240, and the number on the register is now about 7250. Moreover, the increase of membership has been still more rapid. But at any rate the Act of 1904 did retain the principle of adjusting administration to the actual conditions of the trade in each locality. It enabled each licensing bench to reduce the number of houses or not according to the best of their judgment, and it may very well be that in some places a thinning out of the number has been distinctly beneficial.

The present Bill introduces a totally different principle, which has never been accepted before, though long proposed and often demanded. It provides for a reduction of public-houses on a fixed numerical scale in proportion to population, without regard to any other circumstances. This is to be completed in fourteen years; and it is calculated that it will mean the suppression during that period of over 30,000, or one-third of the existing licensed houses. It works out at an average of about 2300 a year, or 1000 a year in excess of the average reduction under the Act of 1904. It must be admitted that this would be an extremely drastic interference with the uncensored classes by the censored. That, of course, constitutes its merit in the eyes of some supporters, but to thinking persons it requires a corresponding amount of justification. If the case were desperate, if things were going from bad to worse, if public-houses had been increasing, and drinking and drunkenness with them, there would be at least a *prima facie* case for drastic remedies; but the facts are all the other way. It has been shown above that the facilities for drinking have been diminishing progressively for forty years, and that they have fallen by one-half in

proportion to population. If the movement has not been accompanied by an equal diminution in consumption and drunkenness, that merely proves that the number of public-houses is less important than other factors, which is no argument for a much larger reduction, but the contrary. Nor is it enough to say that things are still very bad, and strong measures must be taken. That may be enough for persons who do not think and are merely impatient to try something, no matter what; but to those who take a serious and responsible view of the problem it is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The friends of a sick person always want something to be done, but even they expect the doctor to have a very good reason for doing it, and they would not think much of him if he said 'Very well, let us stick a knife in here, perhaps it will do some good.' We have a right to know what reasons there are for sticking a knife in.

If the object is to promote temperance, then it must be shown that there is some connexion between numbers and temperance; for if intemperance depends upon other causes, reduction of numbers *per se* cannot affect it. The official licensing statistics afford the materials for examining this point. The proportion of licenses and convictions for drunkenness are given for each of the counties and county boroughs. Convictions for drunkenness are apt to vary somewhat capriciously and cannot be safely used for minute comparisons between one place and another or one year and another; but if we take the whole country in large groups they form a reliable guide, as well as the only one. The several localities are so grouped in the returns. Let us take the counties first. They are grouped in four almost equal divisions, having respectively (1) under 30, (2) 30 to 40, (3) 40 to 50, (4) over 50 licenses per 10,000. The average number of convictions for each group is given in the table below. The figures are for 1905; if another year is taken they vary a little but tell the same story.

PROPORTIONAL LICENSES AND DRUNKENNESS—COUNTIES.

Licenses per 10,000.	Under 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	Over 50.
Convictions per 10,000 . .	57·39	36·74	40·0	33·22

Here, it will be observed, the mean drunkenness is almost in strict inverse ratio to the number of licenses; and since each group contains all classes of counties the comparison is quite valid.

In the case of the county boroughs there are five groups, there being an additional one for boroughs having less than 20 licenses, and the groups are less equal in number. The City of London must be eliminated; it stands quite apart from the rest, as the census population, which is the basis of the calculation, being a night population, is only a fraction of the real population, and consequently bears no true relation to the number of licenses and cases of drunkenness.

PROPORTIONAL LICENSES AND DRUNKENNESS—COUNTY BOROUGH.

Licences per 10,000.	Under 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	Over 50.
Convictions per 10,000 . .	71·05	55·89	62·4	36·6	35·27

The table exhibits a singular correspondence with the previous one in the general relation of licenses to convictions. Broadly, the fewer the licenses the more the convictions. The progression is not quite regular, being interrupted by one group in each table. But if Tynemouth be eliminated from the county boroughs the progression in that table then becomes quite regular, thus: 71·05, 55·89, 45·3, 36·6, 35·27. And Tynemouth is an exceptional case, having nearly three times as much proportional drunkenness as any other town. The reason is that it is quite a small place, but the pleasure resort for the whole of Tyneside, so that a small population has to bear the burden of the holiday drunkenness of half a dozen towns with a population of over half a million.

It would be easy to argue from these statistics that temperance would be better promoted by increasing than by diminishing the number of licenses, and that conclusion might be more strikingly emphasised by taking individual localities and showing, for instance, that Cambridgeshire, with 77 licenses per 10,000, has only 12 convictions, while Northumberland, with 20 licenses, has 146. But it would not be an honest argument, though the advocates of suppression, who use statistics when they are favourable

and decry them when they are not, would make the most of these figures if they went the other way. Such devices may be left to them. The real meaning of the general correspondence between paucity of licenses and prevalence of drunkenness, and the reverse, is that in hard-drinking localities the magistrates have generally kept down the number of licenses, and in sober ones they have let them alone. In short, drinking has determined the licenses, not licenses the drinking. The result, which is that the one class has not been made sober nor the other drunken, conclusively proves that the mere proportion of public-houses is an insignificant factor compared with other influences. There are therefore no rational grounds for expecting any benefit from reduction according to a hard-and-fast numerical standard, which would take most effect where it is least needed.

The Licensing Bill tries to meet this obvious objection by a graduated scale according to density of population. The idea is derived from the compiler of the licensing statistics, who has laboured to establish a correspondence between density of population and drunkenness. It is a hopeless muddle. Even when the calculation is confined to county boroughs there are as many exceptions as cases conforming to the rule. How little correspondence there is will be seen from the following table, which is parallel with that given above. The grouping is that given in the Licensing Statistics.

DENSITY AND DRUNKENNESS—COUNTY BOROUGHES.

Density of Population.	Under 10,000 per sq. mile.	10,000 to 15,000.	15,000 to 20,000.	20,000 to 30,000.	Above 30,000.
Convictions per 10,000 .	56·5	42·5	50·8	91·2	56·3

The highest density has exactly the same drunkenness as the lowest, and the middle groups see-saw up and down. To call density the 'dominating factor' and to base legislation upon it is grotesque. The whole thing exhibits profound ignorance of local conditions. Density, that is, area divided by population, is a most capricious factor, depending on the extent of the municipal boundary and the amount of open or otherwise uninhabited space, both

of which vary enormously in towns of the same character. The real factors which dominate drunkenness are totally different; density happens to coincide with them sometimes and that is all. They are the character of the population, whether working-class or residential; its age and sex constitution; the occupations of the people; and the geographical position.

It follows from all this that there are no rational grounds for expecting this measure to promote temperance in the smallest degree. There is more ground for fearing that it may do the opposite by stimulating the transference of drinking from licensed to unlicensed premises. We have dealt with the question of clubs above and will not go over the same ground again. But, to show that the fear is not chimerical, we may here add the testimony of the Home Secretary. Asked in the House of Commons, on March 14, 1907, whether he was aware that at the recent annual licensing meetings in Yorkshire 'the justices referred in strong terms to the urgent need for further legislation in regard to clubs where intoxicants are supplied, and whether the general purport of the opinions expressed by the justices was that any new enactment which might be made by Parliament on the licensing question would be futile in promoting temperance if it did not provide for the further regulation and supervision of clubs?' he replied, 'I am aware that the first paragraphs in this question accurately represent the views generally held by benches of licensing magistrates throughout the country.' Fresh regulations are proposed in the new Bill, but they are being strenuously opposed by workmen's clubs on the one hand, and denounced as totally inadequate on the other.* Of course they are inadequate; regulations do not meet the point at all. The whole argument for this part of the Bill is not that public-houses are ill-conducted, but that reduction of facilities will promote temperance; and the reduction is illusory so long as clubs and their membership increase indefinitely as they are doing and will do.

We have dwelt at length upon this aspect of the Bill

* While supporters of the Bill are insisting that the regulations must be strengthened, the clubs have demanded their relaxation, and with more prospect of success. Mr Asquith has already virtually promised modification.

because, if it were really likely to promote temperance, objections urged against it on other grounds would lack much of their force in the eyes of many who earnestly desire temperance; whereas if it is not likely to promote temperance, and may even promote intemperance, such persons are bound to consider very carefully what else it will do before they support it. There is one thing at least which is more important than temperance, and that is justice. Is the Bill just?

It proposes that at the end of fourteen years one-third of the existing licenses having been extinguished with compensation levied on the trade, the rest shall then be surrendered for nothing to pave the way for local veto. The last point does not appear to have attracted much attention, but it is quite clear. Under the Bill new licenses are to be subject to local veto, and after the expiry of the 'time limit' of fourteen years all licenses will be new ones; so that local veto will be automatically established. Here we have two distinct objects, neither of which has anything directly to do with temperance. One is appropriation by the State of the property in licenses, the other is so-called popular control of the liquor traffic, whereby a bare majority of the ratepayers in any locality are to decide what is good for the whole population. The country expressed its opinion of the last time-honoured proposal in unmistakable terms not many years ago, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that it has changed its mind. The first proposal—the time limit—has also been familiar for years, but it has never been definitely before Parliament or the electorate, and most of the present controversy has raged round it.

It has long been realised that the property in licenses or licensed houses is an insuperable obstacle to the adoption of any of those foreign schemes for dealing with the liquor traffic which are so enthusiastically advocated by some persons here, although they have not been any more successful in making people sober in the countries which have tried them than our own system of licensing. To make way for them it is necessary to get rid of existing license-holders; and though ardent reformers would not hesitate to turn them out neck and crop, and would even love to do it, the step of depriving

a large body of citizens, including many women and children, of their livelihood or their property, and for no fault, has always offended the sense of justice and right inherent in the community at large. At the same time nobody was prepared to pay them compensation, not because they were held to have no claim, but because nobody except the reformers was at all desirous of the change. So the plan of a time limit was devised by the latter to meet the difficulty. It is a notice to quit after a certain time which is allowed as an 'act of grace.' The argument is that licenses have become extremely valuable through the limitation exercised by the law, which has converted the trade into a monopoly, and through the established practice of renewing them annually (unless forfeited by misconduct), which has created a vested interest; but that the value so created is a 'present' from the State, which the license-holder has not earned, and that there is no legal right to annual renewal. Consequently it is lawful and right to take away the license without any compensation, but that, as a concession to popular feeling, and to avoid any hardship, a period is allowed during which license-holders can recoup themselves for their eventual loss out of the trade meanwhile.

A complication was introduced by the Act of 1904, which recognised the right to compensation for licenses taken away solely on the ground that they are not required. It is true that the compensation is paid by the trade and costs the public nothing, but the Act gives statutory recognition to the principle of compensation. The extreme anger and opposition excited in the temperance party by this step plainly show that they care much less about temperance than about damaging or destroying the trade. The Act of 1904, whatever it might do for temperance by reducing public-houses, was in their eyes worse than no reform at all, because it strengthened the moral, if not the economic and legal, position of the trade. The present Bill is designed primarily to undo it; but since it would hardly do to stop the reduction instituted by the Act (which would offend that section of the temperance party which really cares for temperance), or drop compensation altogether (which would offend the general public), we have the proposal

of an accelerated reduction, with an attenuated compensation and the time limit as well. It adroitly reverses the Act of 1904 and combines the several demands of the more important sections of the temperance party, while maintaining an appearance of fairness.

But what is the real position in which the owners of licensed property are placed by this ingenious combination? In the first place, two-thirds of the trade have to compensate the other third for suppression, and then be suppressed themselves without any compensation. The theory of compensation by the trade itself, as already stated, is that the survivors profit by securing the custom previously enjoyed by the suppressed houses, that is to say, they pay for the enjoyment of this additional custom. They may not get it all, but they get something. The new proposal is that, having done so, they then shall be deprived both of what they have bought in this way, and of their own as well. The proposal is plainly ironical. It would be more straightforward to subject them all alike to the time limit. That the arrangement is merely a trick intended to give an appearance of justice, is evident from the fact that the compensation is whittled down to derisory proportions. Under the Act of 1904 compensation was assessed on the market value of the license, which is the basis on which death duties are levied by the State on the same property. The new basis is an intricate calculation, which has been estimated to work out at about one-fifteenth of the rate allowed by the Act of 1904. It is certain that the amount is very small; and this shows what value is really placed on the time limit by the Government. Since the compensation is supposed to represent the loss sustained on those licensed premises which are denied the privilege of living out the time limit, it must, conversely, represent the supposed value of that privilege to those which do enjoy it. It measures the estimated profitableness of the business. If it is fair and reasonable the business must be held to be worth no more; if the business is worth more it is not fair and reasonable. Apparently the Government reckon this loss of the suppressed trade at 4 per cent. per annum on the value of the licensed premises as assessed for income tax *minus* their value unlicensed. At this

rate, if the surviving license-holders were to set aside the whole of their income at compound interest for the whole period of the time limit, they would still have lost 30 per cent. of their capital at the end. Thus, on the Government's own showing, the scheme means financial ruin; nor can any calculation make it anything else. Sir T. P. Whittaker, in a letter published in the 'Times' of January 27, suggested that if there should be any financial difficulty, which he ridiculed, in a time limit, license-holders could easily get over it by raising the price or lowering the quality of the liquor sold. What does the consumer, who is the uncared public or the working man, and what does the Church of England Temperance Society think of this suggestion, which is a direct invitation to practice adulteration? It might open the eyes of that body to the character of their allies and to the direction in which they are going. For nothing can be more certain than that the financial stress avowedly and even exultingly placed upon the trade will tempt and almost force publicans to make all the profit they can in every possible way while they have the chance. They are doomed men; a little sooner or a little later makes no difference. Why should they care for the law when the law cares nothing for them? They would have every inducement to go wrong and none to keep right. They would have far more inducement to malpractices than under that superfluity of houses and consequent competition which the scheme of reduction is professedly intended to remedy. Thus reduction is made to defeat its own object when that object is lost sight of and the means is made an end in itself.

And the matter does not end there. The whole tendency of this proposed legislation must inevitably be to demoralise the trade. Insecurity of tenure must drive out the most solid, careful, and respectable people, as it invariably does. The business would become purely speculative, and would attract the worst. The fear of forfeiting a substantial stake by misconduct, which is the chief hold the law has over the conduct of a licensed house, would disappear. Whatever prospect there might be of promoting temperance by reducing facilities—and we have shown how slight and illusory it is—the last vestige of hope is destroyed by the financial provisions.

The only possible results, so far as temperance is concerned, would be to transfer drinking from licensed to unlicensed premises, and to lower the character and conduct of the licensed premises that remain. The whole process of raising the standard, which has been going on for forty years, would be arrested and reversed. Nor would extension of the time limit appreciably affect these results; it would slightly mitigate the hardship suffered by the owners of licensed property, but it would not alter the position, and it would still leave them deprived of that consideration which is extended to every one else, and was even extended to slave-owners.

It is contended that they are not entitled to such consideration, and that the terms of the Bill err on the side of generosity. The grounds for that view have been stated above, and we will now briefly examine them. The first is that the high value of a license is due to the monopoly, not to the license-holder, who receives a valuable gift for nothing. That might have been true once, but it does not apply to the great bulk of license-holders. New licenses have been very sparingly granted for many years, and since the Act of 1904 the full monopoly value has been charged. The vast majority of licenses have changed hands since the original grant, either by purchase or inheritance, and appropriation by the State of property which has been bought in the open market, or has been inherited, is sheer confiscatory socialism. If it is allowed, no property whatever is safe. The same process might be applied to any other trade or business. Socialists have been quick to see the point, and have already applied the principle to all kinds of property in anticipation. Once it is established all their difficulties vanish. You have only to set a time limit and take over anything you please for nothing. On the morrow of the introduction of the Bill the 'Daily News' gave prominence to a letter in which the writer said: 'We must thank the Government for its bold action, and trust that in other matters of monopoly—such as land, railways, mines—this period of fourteen years will never be exceeded.' The large sums which may be made out of the liquor traffic by dispossessing the license-holders without compensation are no doubt very tempting, as Messrs Rowntree and Sherwell indicate in their book on 'The

Taxation of the Liquor Trade'; and so are the large sums which might be made by breaking into the Bank of England. And this is 'temperance reform'!

But, says the second argument, this property in licenses is not a real property; there is no right to continuity; licenses are only granted for a year, and therefore only have an annual value; persons who have given more for them, relying on renewal, have been very foolish. It is a purely forensic argument. There is no legal right to renewal, but there is an expectation which in practice comes to the same thing; and it is quite beyond the law because it lies in the nature of things. Licensing laws presuppose the granting of licenses, and the grant is periodically terminable in order to retain control of the license; but unless an entirely fresh set of premises is licensed every year there must be renewals. Further, most of the licenses must be renewals, because most of the applicants are old license-holders, and the licensing authorities prefer, and ought to prefer, applicants whom they know and who have proved satisfactory. And there is no power in earth or heaven which can make a renewal the same thing as a new license, any more than it can make this year last year. 'Not Jove himself upon the past has power.' Thus the practice of renewal has grown up and become confirmed by time and usage; it is in the nature of things. It has also been confirmed by Parliament, which has repeatedly and expressly recognised the difference between a renewed and a new license in several ways—with regard to notice of application, attendance at the sessions, right of appeal against refusal, and necessity of confirmation. It has been consistently recognised by the State, which levies death duties on licensed premises on the assumption that the license is an enduring property; by local authorities, which assess upon the same assumption; by licensing benches, which have frequently ordered large and expensive alterations of premises; and by the High Courts of Justice.*

* For instance, in the case of *Belton v. London County Council*. This was a case of valuation of licensed premises for compulsory purchase under the Arbitration Act of 1889. It turned on the probability of renewal. The question was whether the arbitrator, in estimating the reversionary value of the house after the expiry of a twenty-six years' lease, should take into account its then market value as a licensed house. Counsel for the County

It has recently been recognised by the War Office, which last year sold some licensed premises worth (without the license) about 2000*l.*, and put a reserve price of 10,000*l.* on them ('Times,' March 13, 1908).^{*} If, therefore, investors in licensed property have been foolish in relying on the expectation of renewal, it is because all the great State institutions in this country have combined to deceive them as well as the money market, which represents the business consensus of the community. Moreover, it must be remembered that far more than the value of the license would be taken away; very large sums expended on building and fitting premises for the trade would be lost.

The legal argument is as fallacious as it is mean; but if it were perfectly sound it would in no wise justify the wide-spread distress which must result from the bankruptcy of a business in which capital estimated at 240,000,000*l.* is employed. The owners of this capital are not a few rich men; they include many thousands of ordinary investors and small people wholly dependent on the income from shares for their livelihood. Many are entirely innocent and helpless, women and children who live on debenture shares left them for their support. The insurance companies, as Lord Rothschild has pointed out, and other great corporations have invested in the same securities. Then there are the persons employed directly and indirectly by the trade whose number cannot be estimated, because, apart from those engaged in the whole-

Council contended that he ought not to take the probability of renewal into consideration. The Court (Mr Justice Day and Mr Justice Collins) decided against him without calling on the other side.

Cocks v. Lady Henry Somerset. The trustees of an estate applied for a declaration to prevent the tenant for life from inserting in the lease of a licensed house a provision that would involve the loss of the license, on the ground that it would damage the property. Mr Justice Chitty granted the application, thereby recognising the probability of renewal and the enduring property in a license; for if there were none the trustees could have no right of interference.

These and other cases have been decided since *Sharp v. Wakefield*, which clearly does not dispose of the enduring property in a license based on probability or expectation of renewal. See the 'Law Quarterly Review,' January 1908.

^{*} The average profits derived from this house for several years were 3½ per cent. on the purchase price. The best offer obtainable after the introduction of the Licensing Bill was 4400*l.*, representing a depreciation of 56 per cent. The value of the time limit can be judged from these facts.

sale and retail trade, there is hardly an industry in the country, from agriculture to brass-work, that would not suffer. And there are also the pensioners and the benevolent institutions, the schools and orphanages, maintained by the trade; they would be thrown on to the poor law.

These considerations will not be disposed of by sneering at 'debenture widows,' or repeating that this is a 'great temperance measure.' Why is it a great temperance measure? To the calm looker-on, with no interest in the trade and no sympathy with it as such, the most remarkable feature of this controversy is that no one has made the slightest attempt to show *how* the Bill will promote temperance. Its supporters are like the Ephesians; all with one voice about the space of six weeks have cried out, 'Great is the Bill of Mr Asquith.' And that is all. Mr Lloyd George has informed us that unless it is passed 'England is fated to the squalid doom of the drunkard.' When a clever Cabinet Minister is reduced to such ridiculous nonsense it is because he has nothing better to say. The plain truth is that the Bill contains some minor, mostly rather doubtful, provisions bearing on temperance, but its main purpose is purely political. A great temperance measure would not ignore Scotland and Ireland, which are far more drunken than England, and it would not ignore the so-called grocers' licenses, which mean home drinking and are another alternative channel.

A real measure of licensing reform would be quite different; such a measure is needed and has long been overdue. The entire scheme of licensing is obsolete and should be recast to suit conditions which have changed out of all harmony with it. We still live under the Act of 1828, which was itself a consolidating Act embracing much earlier provisions. Meantime vast changes have occurred in all the conditions of life, and with them the liquor trade has become differentiated into several well-marked classes differing widely in character and purpose, and requiring differential treatment which cannot be applied because the law takes no cognisance of the facts. The Pig and Whistle is on the same legal footing as the Carlton Hotel, the Prince's Restaurant, and the Franco-British Exhibition. This very Bill, when it comes to administrative details, is compelled to recognise distinc-

tions which have no existence in law; but that method of proceeding can only lead to confusion. A complete readjustment of the law to actual conditions is essential to its efficiency; that is true reform, and the indispensable foundation for others. A bare mention of it must suffice at the end of this too long article, but one way in which it would work may be indicated. It would bring in the law as an auxiliary force in promoting the movement for substituting places of rational refreshment for mere drinking bars, and would thus enable it to exercise its proper function of levelling up in harmony with public opinion. That is done in Germany where they have pot-houses, too, though the ordinary traveller does not see them; but they are discouraged by being treated more stringently than the *café* and the beer-garden, which the ordinary traveller does see and admires. Is it not time for us to apply a little 'clear thinking' to the question of temperance?

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